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# THE REVIEW AND EXPOSITOR

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## THE CHARACTER AND HISTORY OF THE 1611 VERSION.

BY W. T. WHITLEY, D.D., PRESTON, ENGLAND.

The English version of the Bible which made its appearance in 1611, and its assumed final form in 1638, is the twelfth step in a process of translation and revision which had begun in 1526, and represents the Bible of Scotland and England, of Puritan and Prelatist. It came at a happy time, when the national consciousness was at its height, when nearly all parties were united, when the race was yet within its motherland, with but a handfull of pioneers in Virginia. Men of nearly all churches soon accepted it, and wherever Britons went forth they carried with them the one version. A book of unique purpose and value, couched in the stately prose which fitly matches the poetry of Shakespeare, is read more widely than any other book in the world. Just as a piece of literature, its story is worth telling.

When the English came from the continent to the land of Britain, the Bible was already a complete library, gathered and circulated as one collection, translated into many languages. For all western Europe it was read in Latin, and two Latin translations were in use; one had a record of a few centuries already, the other was a revised version, slowly mak-

ing its way. The missionaries who came to the English, from Italy, from Scotland, from France, from Burgundy, brought with them Latin Bibles. These were copied diligently, and many are the romantic tales clustering around the story of the copyist, and of the previous volumes they produced. But Latin was not the tongue of the English, and just as the modern missionary will treasure his Bible in his mother tongue, yet feel bound to prepare one in the tongue of his converts, so the old missionaries had to translate in their preaching, in their stories, and were led to the verge of writing out their translations.

The first step, however, towards an English Bible was taken by an Englishman. In those days (as perhaps again now) the wealth and the intelligence and the heart of England were in the North, the hilly lands, which we call today Northumberland and Durham, Yorkshire and Lancashire. Here was the old capital of Roman Britain, York; here were the great Christian centers of Lindisfarne, Jarrow, Whitby; and so here began the English Bible.

It began in poetry. A herdman invited to take his turn with the harp and give a song in the evening, slank away in shame because he could do neither. A dream came to him that night; and when next day the friendly challenge was repeated, he burst forth into a hymn of the creation, a story of Paradise Lost. Great was the marvel; no border ballad, but the sacred story, only put into the speech of daily life, into the measure of the war song. Cædmon was set free from his cowshed, and the lyrics multiplied apace.

After a while the learned preachers took the hint. Bede dictated a translation of John, the first which we know was committed to writing. Then into a Latin Testament was added a word-for-word translation in English. Then some one dared copy out the English alone, apart from the Latin. And once this step was taken, bolder grew the writers, more idiomatic and less slavish the translating, and the formation of an English Bible was going on apace.

But a fresh wave of invasion stopped the work. Northmen

conquered the whole of north and east England; York became a Danish capital, with heathen kings ruling for a hundred and fifty years. Christian centers were plundered and burned, and the few Testaments that survive show marks of their adventures by land and even by sea, when dropped into the waves and only recovered after the tide had ebbed. The work of translating all but ceased, only to begin again when Dane and Welshman and Englishman were learning to live side by side under one English ruler, and owning one Christ as Lord. As the first millennium closed, the greater part of the Bible was reduced into English, and the work was going on apace.

Then came another great invasion, of Normans now, civilized Northmen. English was the language only of the conquered, and they had neither means nor heart to finish the work. All the north submitted to the Norman, and he smote the north to the dust, laying it waste so pitilessly that it was negligible for two centuries or so, nor regained its place for many more. Yet in the deserts he left, hermits found refuge; and where the Norman influence was least, the English spirit lingered. Still was it in the north that a few more books were translated into English, even in the long period when little but Norman-French was spoken or read in cultured circles.

Under the early Edwards the people began to draw together again, and just as the Dane had melted into the mass, so the Norman melted. Not Danish, not Norman-French, but English was to be the tongue of the land, in writing as in speech. Even law-courts and parliaments fell to the national life, and with Gower and Chaucer, English literature arose again.

The language was no longer the language of Cædmon, nor of Alfred, nor of Aelfric. These we popularly group as Anglo-Saxon; but the language of Gower and Chaucer is a more modern tongue, which can be read without a dictionary, though it certainly is more archaic than Shakespeare. It may be interesting to give one or two illustrations, put into modern

letters so that there may be little distraction on this score. Here is a verse translated by King Alfred:

"Sunu min, ne agimeleasa, thu Godes swingan,
ne thu ne beo werig for his threaunga,
forthaembe God lufath thone the he threath,
and swingeth aelc bearn the he underfon wile."

And here is the same passage as translated by Abbot Aelfric forty years before the Norman conquest:

"Ne forgym thu, min bearn, thines Drihtnes steore, ne thu beo gewacht thone he the threath; thone the Drihten lufath, thone he threath, and sothlice beswingth aelcne sunu the he underfehth."

It may well be doubted if the average reader can identify ten words in either version, or can find what passage it is. That language is at a long remove from ours.

Modern standard English comes from the south midlands, where lived Wicliffe and Purvey, studying at Oxford. It was in 1380 that the first draft appeared of a new and complete version of the whole Latin Bible, which was revised into permanent form by 1388. Even in quaint old spelling we cannot mistake this:

"Forsothe the Lord answeride fro the whirlewynd to Joob, and seide, Who is this man, wlappynze sentences with unwise wordis? Guide thou as a man thi leendis: Y schal axe thee, and answere thou to me."

All the forces of conservatism and of aristocracy and of ecclesiasticism might combine against this new appeal to the people in their own tongue; but it was useless. The demand for the Latin Bible ceased, no more new copies were made, but for the new English Bible there was a call from palace and cloister and grange, and even from humble homes for a few pages if such might be had. Wycliffe's Bible, as it is

popularly called, fixed the tongue of the people, especially the written prose, for one hundred and fifty years, till a new power came to the front, in the printing press. Thus in 1480 it was reported that Nicholas Belward in the parish of South Elmham had bought a New Testament in London for four marks and forty pence, which he studied with two others for a year; also that a village priest had another which he gave to a man Beccles, and a third which he bequeathed to a servant at Colchester. In 1485 Robert Hilman was tried at Coventry on five charges, of which the second was that he had a book with the Epistles and Gospels in English, according to which he would live, and believed to be saved. In 1511 William Sweeting was charged with the crime of having had much conference with one William Man, of Boxted, in a book which was called Matthew. James Brewster, of Colchester was burned for seven crimes including that he owned a certain little book of Scripture in English, of an old writing almost worn for age. Could it have been the copy bequeathed by Sir Hugh Pie eighty years earlier? Other cases are known when people would give five marks for a book, or a load of hay for a few chapters of James or Paul in English.

How came it that men were so slow to use the printing press? The first book printed in Europe was the Latin Bible, at Mainz in 1455; the Hebrew Bible was issued at Soncino in 1488, the Greek Testament in 1516 at Basel. And versions into modern languages were soon put to press; the Germans had theirs from 1465, the Italians from 1471, the French from 1475, the low-Dutch from 1494, while Spanish, Dutch and Bohemians were equally forward. Yet all that was done in that century for English readers was Caxton's translation in 1483 of the Golden Legend, a collection of biographies of saints; those who were of Bible times were usually described in Bible words, and so in this indirect way certain parts of Bible narrative found their way into print, and became very popular. It is unmistakable that in England there was comparatively little desire among the high clergy to issue a vernacular Bible, and there were so few printing presses that no

layman could hope to get one printed without clerical favor. As a result even the preparation of a new version was delayed until a new theological issue had arisen, and its publication became complicated with the Protestant movement, so that from the outset the printed English Bible was looked upon with some suspicion by friends of the old learning and the old religion.

William Tyndale studied at Oxford and Cambridge at the time when Luther's proceedings first attracted attention. The great Saxon issued a German New Testament straight from the Greek during 1522, and Tyndale decided in 1523 to begin an English New Testament. He found the Bishop of London opposed to it, so emigrated and carried out his work at Hamburg and Wittenberg, beginning to print it at Cologne in 1525. An enemy of the Reformation stopped it and warned Wolsey to watch for any imported Testaments; so Tyndale began again at Worms, in a different shape, giving text only without prefaces or notes. This was smuggled into England in 1526, but such vigorous means were taken to suppress it, that only a single perfect copy remains, in the Baptist College at Bristol. Printers saw there was a demand for it, and several printed editions appeared, while Tyndale was working at the Old Testament. Before he was executed by the Emperor Charles, he had thrice revised his New Testament, had printed Jonah and the first five books of the Old Testament, and left more ready in manuscript; while in the year of his death the king's Printer had issued a small folio reprint of his second edition, the first volume of Scripture produced in England.

The importance of Tyndale's work may be seen in that seventy per cent of his words are retained even to the present day, not only in the Great Royal Version of 1611, but in the popular Catholic versions and in the American Standard version of 1901. He aimed at good, original work, depending directly upon the Hebrew and the Greek, unlike his predecessors in England; but like a sensible man he profited by their labors, and often the ring of Wicliffe and even of Caxton can be detected. Also he used the new Latin version which Erasmus

had published in 1516 with the remark that he wished others would do for the uneducated what he thus did for scholars. And of course the Vulgate, or common Latin version, influenced him occasionally.

All translators had been accustomed to give notes of three kinds, exactly as any translator of any foreign book does today. They prefaced with a short account of what the book was about, who its author was, and what led him to write—just the sort of note that Prof. Robertson has put in front of each book in his chronological New Testament. They mentioned at the foot any places where the text was uncertain, or where another translation was possible. They added in the margin any useful information that helped to explain the subject.

The written English Bible of 1388 and the written Latin Bibles had had notes of these kinds; but evidently every scribe was able to drop old notes and write new ones; Lollards had copied the English version with notes which excited the ire of the bishops. Luther had done the same with his printed German Testament; and Tyndale not only kept at the regular practice of writing notes, but threw himself on the Protestant side and wrote vigorous controversial notes, often drawn largely from Luther's. In 1526 he was willing to cut them out if the plain text might circulate; but as he found even this was burned, his later editions have very plain spoken comments against Catholic corruption, in the margin; though the text is an honest attempt at plain rendering, wonderfully successful for a pioneer effort.

Meanwhile a second man had been working independently, under the influence of Zwingli's friends near Zurich. Myles Coverdale was of the same order to which Luther belonged, an Angustinian friar. But the Swiss Reformation was not on Lutheran lines, and it has not been sufficiently noted that before Luther had half finished his translation, an independent German Bible had been issued at Zurich in 1525; the first complete translation from the original into any modern language. This was revised two or three times as fresh in-

stalments of Luther appeared, and its standard form was attained when Christopher Froschauer published it in 1534. Next year the same printer struck off the first complete English Bible, prepared by Coverdale from this and Luther, a Zurich Latin Bible and the old Vulgate, and from Tyndale; it made no pretension to be based directly on the Hebrew and Greek. In one respect it made a sparkling innovation, cutting out of the Old Testament all the books known only in Latin, and grouping them at the end under the title Apocrypha. The sheets were imported to England without special secrecy, for King Henry had broken with the Pope on the "divorce" question, and Coverdale took Henry's side; moreover, Cranmer and Cromwell were now in power, and evidently favored his work. An English book-seller bound and published three issues in 1536, then printed a revised edition in 1537, and for a third edition the same year secured the king's license.

This altered the whole situation, and other editors and book-sellers took up the work. The third man was John Rogers, successor of Tyndale in the English Merchant's house at Antwerp. He took the whole of Tyndale's text, printed and manuscript, filled up from Ezra to Malachi with Coverdale (adding also his apocrypha), and translated a new marginal commentary from the 1535 French Bible of Olivitan. Two London tradesmen took up publishing during 1537 by speculating in a large edition of this, which they called "Matthew's Bible" for some reason unknown. They secured the king's license and it became very popular, five editions appearing by 1551. Its importance lies in the fact that the Royal Version of 1611 is descended direct from this.

We must not be tempted into describing the numerous other experiments made,but may simply say that a learned barrister called Taverner revised this, and his work influenced the later Douay Testament which in its turn was used for 1611; that Coverdale put out a valuable Latin-English Testament which by the same channel contributed its quota. It is more important to follow the main stream.

Since 1530 King Henry had been inquiring into the pos-

sibility of a version not merely permitted, but put out by authority. The convocation of the province of Canterbury had touched the matter in 1534 and 1536, but was so slow that when Henry became Head of the church and appointed Cromwell his Vicar General, Cromwell told Coverdale to prepare a new edition to be officially authorized. It was based on "Matthew", and the only new help was derived from an edition of the Hebrew text accompanied with a Latin version by Sebastian Munster. There is no evidence that Coverdale knew Hebrew, and therefore the section from Ezra onwards cannot have been very well revised even yet; and this includes not the least valuable parts of the Old Testament.

Printing was still rather poor in England, and it was arranged to print this in Paris; but the Inquisitor-General stopped it, and the English were with difficulty able to get away with some printed sheets, the type, the press and the printers. This marks incidentally an era in the printing trade in England. The work was finished in London during 1539, financed by the syndicate of 1537, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, aided also by Anthony Marlar a button-maker. It was such an enormous success that they all dropped their previous trades and turned to printing. For the second edition they secured a preface from Cranmer, and obtained an order from the king through Cromwell that this was the edition appointed for use in the churches. Warning had already been given that every parish would have to provide an English Bible for people to read at leisure; the syndicate now secured the monopoly. Editions of course flowed rapidly in 1540 and 1541, till every parish was supplied. Tyndale's version was now forbidden by act of parliament, and the same act ordered all notes and commentaries in all other versions to be blotted out. Next came the turn of Coverdale's Bible, whose reprinting was forbidden in 1546, while the same prohibition seems to cover all others also.

Much of this legislation was of course due to the influence of the Bible Trust, and it is a trifle unfair to overlook this mere trade influence. But when that has been given the weight

it has never received, we must yet recognize the importance of the rule about notes. The old custom was distinctly broken with, and Henry ordered that a bare text was to be issued. The only exceptions were three critical marks; one warned that there was a difference of opinion as to the true reading; a second that the passage was not in the original, only in the Vulgate Latin; a third that the O. T. passage was quoted in the New. Coverdale also added a fourth mark, to say that a note on the passage would be found at the end, not in the margin; but this project was forbidden by Henry. Thus the controversial abuse of a good old practice led to its summary prohibition.

Under King Edward there was no more revision, but an important step was taken in another direction. A new set of services was compiled, all in English, and the first book of Common Prayer was then enjoined for universal use, by the first act of Uniformity. Every passage of Scripture in this book was naturally drawn from the Authorized Version, the Great Bible; and this applies not only to isolated verses and short passages, but to the whole book of Psalms, which as we have seen, was only a version from the Latin. So great is the force of conservatism in the Church of England, that to the present day this poor old Psalter, unintelligible in some places, erroneous in many more, is still used daily.

Under Queen Mary all Bible circulation was stopped, and the old practice of burning Bibles was improved on.

Rogers and Cranmer were burned, besides hundreds of less notable victims. Coverdale saved himself by flight, but henceforth his Bible work was done, and under Elizabeth he never regained even the bishopric he had been awarded with under Edward. A new generation of students came to the front, one set at Geneva, and another as yet at Oxford, but fleeing to Douay and then to Rheims after the accession of Elizabeth.

Many Protestant exiles gathered at Geneva, where Calvin and Beza had created a strong center of learning. William Whittingham began in 1557 with a New Testament, to which

Calvin contributed a preface. The form was a striking innovation; it was small, it was printed not in the antique ecclesiastical black letter associated with Germany, but in the modern Roman type. More than that, it indicated the verses which had existed in the Old Testament from time immemorial, and the new verses—divisions made to correspond in the New Testament by Etienne, the printer of Paris and Geneva; both of which had come into general use elsewhere. And it retained the familiar practice of annotating the text. The translation itself was based on Tyndale, revised with the help of the Great Bible and of Beza's recent work in Latin.

An edition of the Psalms followed in 1559, for the Genevans were much addicted to them in song. But both portions were superseded in 1560 by the complete Genevan Bible, in which Whittingham was helped by Gilby and Sampson, and for whose expense the exiled church combined. Now for the first time the whole of the Old Testament was dealt with from the Hebrew, while all the best scholarship of the continent was drawn upon; the Great Bible was, however, the foundation of the text.

The Genevan Bible was taken up in Scotland, and was soon the Authorized Version, every parish being ordered to set a copy in church, and every substantial householder to have one at home. It was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, but though she gave copyright to Thomas Bodley for it, she did not officially authorize it. Instead, the Great Bible was again sent to press.

Archbishop Parker set on foot a revision of this, but when the Bishop's Bible appeared in 1568, Elizabeth equally declined to authorize that. The church authorities did what they could to encourage it, but though they compelled many parishes to buy it, and discontinued printing the Great Bible, the Genevan distinctly became the popular version, and it tended by its notes to harden public opinion into what became known as the Puritan mould.

For several years Elizabeth contrived to sit on the hedge, and not quite to break with either Catholic or Puritan. But

when the breach with Rome occurred finally, each party woke to renewed effort, and Bible translation was taken in hand by each. The New Testament of the Genevan Bible was again revised in 1576, and a new commentary was added, chiefly drawn from Beza. It became more popular than ever, and most of the quotations by men of all parties were taken from its pages.

The exiled Catholics in their turn saw the need of a version with their opinions in text and notes. Three or four Oxford men translated the Vulgate Latin, with the help of Coverdale and Taverner, and furnished the version with elaborate notes. They were not well enough off to publish the whole, and only the New Testament came out at Rheims in 1582. It was published rather grudgingly, not that any English version was very desirable, but that as people would have one, they might have one that was under Catholic auspices. It fell very flat, but the year after the dispersal of the Spanish Armada, a Protestant named Fulke published an elaborate book, putting the Bishop's text and the Rheims text side by side, with abundant notes to point out errors of all kinds. In 1592 a standard Authorized Edition of the Vulgate was put out by the Pope, with the order that all versions were to made from it. So in 1600 a revised version of the Rheims Testament was published by the Seminarists of Douay, which town was the first and chief home of these exiles. And it was followed next year by a revised edition of the Protestant private two-version Testament. This thus served to keep before Protestants the Catholic version, which otherwise would have perished of sheer neglect due to its chilled and stiff character. And since the learned editor did not confine himself to doctrinal notes, but also criticised the translations and referred to originals, he produced the most valuable piece of apparatus for further revision.

Thus at the death of Queen Elizabeth there was an obvious call for another step. The king of Scotland became king of England; from his standpoint it was desirable to have uniformity, and not to have one version authorized in one king-

dom, while the technically Authorized Version of England was quite obsolete in practice, and was replaced in churches by a mere Bishops' Bible. Yet he could not approve of the Genevan Bible, with notes very contrary to his ideas of the importance of a king, one note even comparing his mother, Mary Stuart, to Jezebel! The English Puritans again were not content with it, since there had been a long pause in revision, and they knew the level of scholarship had risen greatly. From Tyndale to Matthew was eleven years, thence to the Great Bible only two, the Genevan had come in twenty, and its revised New Testament in sixteen more; but they would neglect the two Catholic versions, and think that twenty-seven years had now elapsed since this last improvement, the longest period of stagnation yet. This was the period when English prose had risen to "a perfection which in this particular stage was the highest it ever reached", in the writings of Richard Hooker, who died in 1600. And before that century closed, the outburst of poetry had culminated in Shakespeare's Sonnets, the Midsummer Night's Dream, Romeo and Juliet, and As You Like It. From the standpoint of literature as from that of scholarship a new version was due.

The magnates of the church were not averse. Their Bishops' Bible was a merely official volume, with no private circulation. And if they could see the Genevan also superseded, they would not mind letting the work of their own predecessors also be honorably mustered out.

Only one party remained to be considered, the Catholics. And no one intended to consider them, for already they were coming to be recognized as irreconcilable, demanding all or contributing nothing. Moreover the long period of steady repression had reduced them to all but impotence, though the fact was not quite evident to those who remembered the fiery days when Philip and Mary were king and queen, or the bloody days when Philip's Armanda swept aside the puny forces of England and sailed majestically to the rendesvous of Flanders, only there to be caught with panic and scattered by storm.

When therefore in January, 1604, King James and the

bishops received a deputation of four Puritan clergy at Hampton Court, and these stated the wishes of their friends so as to arrive at a religious settlement acceptable to all parties, James leaped at the one proposal which chimed in with his own views. He recklessly threw away the splendid chance of a religious peace, ejected hundreds of clergy for non-conformity, created new Separatism, never again to die; but in all this tragedy of error it is to be put to his credit that he agreed to a new version of the Bible.

Further, being a trained theologian, and no novice at business, he promptly sketched out a plan which was an enormous advance on anything before. Previous versions had been the work of a few men, never more than eight, sometimes only one. He decided to enlist about fifty, and so he happily eliminated the personal equation, by which the defects of any one man occasionally deface his generally good work.

Within six months fifty-four scholars were selected and James sent his plans to Bishop Bancroft, to be communicated to the other bishops. Only in one detail were they defective, finance. No provision was made for the expense except that the bishops were told to manage that. James was about to create hundreds of vacancies, and evidently thought that some of the livings thus set free could be appropriated to the translators. He never troubled further on this head.

It is no small credit to James that he chose fine scholars, and quite neglected the distinction of party, though he had in ecclesiastical matters quite taken sides against the Puritans. Only a few of the front rank were omitted, such as Hugh Broughton, whose bad temper rendered him an impossible colleague.

With such a multitude of workers, careful rules became necessary, and a code was drawn up for uniform procedure. The scholars who accepted the invitations were grouped in six companies, each entrusted with one section of the Bible. The English basis of the whole was to be the Bishops' Bible, and this was to be treated conservatively; yet the Genevan, the Great, Coverdale's, Matthew's and Tyndale's might be used

where they agreed better with the original. Each member of a company was to prepare his own version of a chapter; then the company should meet and compare, settling the form they approved. Special difficulties might be met by asking outside expert advice; and learned clergy were invited to send suggestions to the proper company. When a book was complete in first draft, it was to be sent to the other five companies for criticism; and every amendment approved by any other company was to be placed on the final agenda.

Some men began work as early as April, 1605, but probably in private. Co-operative work seems to have begun during 1607, and lasted nearly three years. There are two points that may receive attention; the texts of Hebrew and Greek that were rendered; the extra helps not advised in the instructions, which were yet actually employed.

Neither in Hebrew nor in Greek did the revisers take special trouble to look for good manuscripts; they leaned upon printed texts ready prepared. It is highly doubtful whether they used Hebrew Bibles edited by Jews, and so they could choose between five Polyglots which gave on the same page all the versions which scholars then appreciated, or the edition by Tremellius, a converted Jew, who added his own Latin version, or a similar edition revised in 1572 from the work of Pagninus. There were five or six men competent to use any of these editions, and among them stands out Dr. Lancelot Andrewes, then dean of Westminster, but to close his career as bishop of Bath and Wells, chairman of the privy council; he knew more languages than all the Polyglots gave, and added a wide knowledge of all the early Christian fathers had written, quoting or commenting on the Bibles they used.

In Greek there were not only the Polyglots, but fifteen separate editions of the New Testament; and it is clear that on the whole, the most recent edition by Beza, published with a Latin version in 1598, was the favorite. Here again no attempt was made to improve by consulting manuscripts; nor were any really good manuscripts available, far less any people competent to weigh them.

There were now many new foreign versions, and the re-

visers proudly referred to their use of the Spanish (at Amsterdam, 1602), the French (at Geneva, 1588), the Italian (by Diodati at Geneva, 1607), and the German. But three English Bibles were most influential. There was the Bishops' version, deliberately ordered as the basis; a new fresh edition of the New Testament was issued in 1605. There was the popular Genevan, of which at least sixteen editions had been issued between 1601 and 1607, the last of them with a concordance bound in. We can hardly doubt that those two editions were prepared specially with a view to the work of the revisers. But a third unintended factor was the folio of nearly a thousand pages, comparing the revised Douay text of 1600 with the Bishops' New Testament, with critical notes and abundant quotations from the fathers. It brought in many renderings due to the Oxford Catholics.

When the first drafts had been criticized by the five companies which had not produced them, a sub-committee of six worked daily at Stationer's Hall to give a second reading, and this occupied nine months.

By this time the question of finance became crucial. The committee of six was paid; the company of stationers gave each of them thirty shillings a week, for four of them were necessarily away from other duties. But manifestly a huge monopoly was about to be created, and many mouths watered. It was to nobody's interest to state the facts, but a few did leak out in subsequent lawsuits. This was an age of patents and monopolies, for James was in constant need of money and preferred to get it otherwise than through parliament. So on 31 October, 1610, he sold to John Speed the right to print and insert in every edition of the new version for ten years, a set of genealogies of Holy Scripture, with a two-page map of Canaan: Speed was to get from the publisher prices varying from sixpence to two shillings, according to size. One funny thing which in the strict sense of the word was authorized.

Who was to handle the text and Speed's maps? Clearly the two universities, whose scholars had done the work, had some kind of preferential claim: and to a generation which

sees Cambridge stand sponsor for the Encyclopedia Britannica, and Oxford famed the world over for its Bibles, it seems that the university presses ought to have had the monopoly. But it is very doubtful if they had the requisite plant, and they certainly did not have the enterprise.

Christopher Barker had purchased in 1577 a patent granted to Sir Thomas Wilkes, and thus became King's Printer, a title borne by others before. As such he had in 1583 prevented Cambridge establishing a press. He had been succeeded by his son, Robert Barker, who now paid thirty-five thousand pounds, securing the original manuscript attested by the committee of six and a prima facie monopoly of printing it. To whom the money was paid is not stated; nor need we go into his finances or the mishaps which obliged him to assign his right to others by 1618. The really interesting point is that James contributed nothing to the cost, but on the contrary made a profit out of Speed. Seldom did a man get honor so cheaply.

The editorial work, as distinct from the translation, had been ordered by James to be minimized. There were no prologues and no expository notes, a policy reproduced from that of his great uncle Henry. A very few notes, and some alternative translations, and some references to other parts of Scripture were placed in the margin: summaries prefixed to the chapters, headlines to the pages, complete the accessories. A preface explaining the history of the work, and a shamelessly fulsome dedication to James, completed the manuscript which Barker bought.

He took it for granted that it continued the pedigree of Matthew's, the Great and the Bishops' Bibles, and boldly proclaimed on the title page that it was appointed to be read in churches: to get a warrant or monopoly from James would certainly cost more money, and it does not appear that he or anyone ever sought any authorization from king or council or parliament or convocation or anybody. In 1611 he began publishing: first two folio editions in black letter for church, sold unbound at twenty-five shillings; next a quarto and an

octavo in Roman. Then all sorts of varieties followed, to imitate Genevan styles found popular, and to meet all manner of tastes.

It leaped at once into popularity, although it did not at once stop the reprinting of the Genevan. The career of the Bishops' Bible was of course over, though a few Testaments were reproduced for a year or two. But the new version came out just in time, before Puritan and Anglican had quarrelled too deeply, before the tide of emigration had set westward. The Pilgrims may have taken to Plymouth the Genevan Bible and Ainsworth's Psalms, but the Puritans took to Massachusetts the new Royal Version.

Of course it met with criticism of all kinds, and when the interest in Bible study was enhanced by the arrival in 1625 of a splendid Greek Bible, presented to the king by Cyril Lukar, patriarch of Constantinople, it is clear that a revision took place. By 1629 the University of Cambridge successfully asserted its right to print, and to print this book; a Revised Version appeared for ten shillings from its press. Once the monopoly was broken down, a Londoner hit on the brilliant idea of buying a patent as king's printer in Scotland, and got out an edition in Edinburgh ready for the coronation of Charles in 1633, but so far mistook Scottish taste as to bind in a set of "Popish pictures taken out of the very Masse book" to please Laud. This edition with the note, "Appointed to be read in churches, Edinburgh", rang the knell there of the Genevan as the Scotch authorized version. N. B.: That same year Elzevir published at Leyden a new edition of the Greek Testament, of which he boasted that it gave the text "accepted by all". It may be as a consequence of this that Charles commissioned two survivors of the original committee, with Dr. Goad, of Hadley and the famous Joseph Meade, to give a second revision. They not only made the use of Italics more uniform, but gave new readings in the text, and thus produced the "Authentique Corrected Cambridge Bible" published in 1638, which remained the standard text for one hundred and twenty-four years.

Under the Commonwealth with its general overthrow of

many institutions, the comparatively new version might easily have been superseded. That every proposal to replace it was promptly rejected, is a very high testimonial to the place it had won in the affection of the whole nation. Only two changes of importance were made; editions appeared without apocrypha, and John Canne the Baptist pastor of Amsterdam immensely extended the idea of marginal references, producing a selection which has only been displaced by the twentieth-century work of Dr. Moulton.

The subsequent history of the version can be put in a few sentences. Oxford began to print it in 1675. In 1701 Bishop Lloyd prepared an edition for the king's printers (not Oxford as is often stated), containing a series of dates based by him on the researches of Archbishop Ussher, and a long note by Bishop Cumberland on Jewish weights and measures, which was still reprinted late last century by some bookmakers. In 1714 the first edition came out in Ireland. In 1749 the R. C. Bishop Challoner began the revision of the Douay Bible which borrowed so extensively from the 1611 version and therein paid it a very high compliment.

In 1762 Dr. Paris of Cambridge put out a very careful standard edition, restoring the text (except in spelling) to that of 1611, and amending all the accessories; a similar edition was prepared at Oxford seven years later. In 1777 a Scotchman published at Philadelphia the first English Testament printed in America and after five editions had been produced, he followed it in 1782 with a Bible complete in two volumes for which he gained authorization from Congress. By 1792 Thomas Scott had finished his great commentary to which he added Vavasor Powell's Concordance of the century before. In 1804 the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded, and at once applied the new art of stereotyping to produce on a new scale, and at prices as low as three shillings for a Bible or a shilling for a Testament. In 1833 Oxford issued a page-for-page reprint in Roman of the 1611 black letter first edition. In 1841 Messrs. Bagster reprinted the New Testament and five earlier versions in their English

Hexapla, with a modern Greek text and a long historical introduction by Tregelles. In 1851 the American Bible Society issued a revision intended to be standard, which met with violent opposition and was withdrawn. In 1873 Cambridge made its first contribution to this version by a careful revision with critical introduction, prefaced by Dr. Scrivener.

Already there were signs that the long monopoly was to be challenged. Baptists had led the way in 1850 by the American Bible Union, which after tentative portions, put forth a Revised New Testament in 1866. The subsequent steps are well known which led to the British editions of 1881 and 1885, and culminated in the American Standard Edition of 1901. Even this has not yet displaced its predecessor, and at three centuries from 1611, all who read English are joining to acclaim the merits of that great version which links them all together, in the bonds of a common tongue, a common religion, a common God.

# THE ENGLISH BIBLE IN ENGLISH LITERATURE.

BY PROF. JOHN CALVIN METCALFE, M.A., RICHMOND, VA.

For more than three hundred years the style and diction of our poets and prose writers have been influenced directly or indirectly by the English Bible. Long before the appearance of the Authorized Version in 1611, the influence of the earlier translations on English literature had been considerable: as far back, indeed, as the Anglo-Saxon period the prose and poetry were colored by biblical diction through contemporary versions of parts of the Old and New Testaments; from the Wyclif version near the close of the fourteenth century, on through the versions of Tyndale and his successors in the sixteenth century the influence is of course much more marked. The culmination of these attempts to produce a standard English Bible was the so-called King James, or Authorized Version, which has contributed more than any other one book to the making of English prose. This version, as is well known, owes something to each of its predecessors, but far more to Tyndale's than any other. Tyndale's consecration to his task and his final martyrdom, his ambition to "cause the boy that driveth the plow to know more of the Scriptures" than theologians themselves, his fidelity and humility, gave his translation such worth and such sacredness that it became a model for all subsequent versions in English. To these sixteenth century versions, Elizabethan literature is deeply indebted: of these, we must remember, Shakespeare made use; but so closely does the King James Version resemble them, that when we speak of "the Bible in Shakespeare" we unconsciously imply that he made use of the Bible in 1611. It is well, then, at the beginning of this discussion on the influence of the Authorized Version in English literature to be reminded that in its essentials the standard English Bible for the last

three hundred years is the same as that of Tyndale and succeeding revisers.

The Authorized Version, the crowning achievement of almost a century of efforts to give the people a national Book, came very close to the minds and hearts of the masses; it was learned by heart; maxims for the conduct of life were taken from it; it was devoutly read and quoted as the final authority on matters of faith and practice; it became indissolubly associated with the most sacred institutions of life, and thus in time it grew into a nucleating center of blessed memories and traditions. In it the nation saw reflected the aspirations of great English leaders as well as those of the humblest individual towards right living and purity of heart; from it they gained strength for daily conflicts and in it they found comfort for the sorrows of life; generations were brought up on it, knowing the language and the imagery of the Bible as one comes to know an intimate friend by constantly reading his features and hearing his familiar tones. Huxley has paid tribute to the English Bible as a national book in these memorable words:

"Consider the great historical fact that, for three centuries, this book has been woven into the life of all that is best and noblest in English history; that it has become the national epic of Britain, and is as familiar to noble and simple, from John-o'-Groat's House to Land's End, as Dante and Tasso once were to the Italians; that it is written in the noblest and purest English, and abounds in exquisite beauties of pure literary form; and finally it forbids the veriest hind who never left his village to be ignorant of the existence of other countries and other civilizations, and of a great past stretching back to the furthest limits of the oldest civilizations of the world."

Aside from its religious value, the Authorized Version has therefore come to be one of the supreme classics of literature; and before considering specifically its influence on English literature, including American, we will name several literary characteristics of the English Bible through which it has made

an appeal so compelling to our writers of prose and poetry. "Literature", says Lord Morley, "consists of all the books—and they are not so many—where moral truth and human passion are touched with a certain largeness, sanity and attraction of form". Let us add to this inclusive definition of literature this assertion as a criterion: *Any book is literature which makes a lasting appeal to the emotions.* Such a book would belong to what DeQuincey calls the "literature of power" as opposed to the "literature of knowledge" which is essentially scientific. Considered as literature, the Bible belongs primarily to "the literature of power", appealing as it does to the emotions, the imagination, and the will, more directly than to the mere intellect.

At least four qualities in the English Bible make this literary appeal. First of all, the Bible is a book of strong, simple, concrete words, which convey to the reader a sense of reality and absolute sincerity. Fully ninety-three per cent of these words are of Anglo-Saxon origin and come very close to the primal emotions. Such words wear well; we have been brought up on them in the daily concerns of life, and when we meet them in a book they stand for things and not for abstractions; they are heart-words, if you choose, rather than head-words. Passages in our literature made up of these simple and vivid words we commit to memory and sacredly treasure among our mental possessions—lines from Shakespeare, proverbs from Bacon's Essays, lines from Burns, stanzas from our great hymns. The supreme masters of literature prefer the strong, concrete word. In the second place, the Bible is a book of pictures. The truth is presented through parable, allegory, symbol. Consider, for instance, how the medieval painter seized upon this pictorial quality and filled the galleries of Europe with Biblical scenes. No other book, indeed, has so lent itself to translation into art. Bible stories in simple word pictures became our earliest English dramas, the sculptured adornments of mighty cathedrals, the themes of painters and poets. As the greatest of picture-books the Bible has immeasurably enriched the imagination of the mak-

ers of literature. Again, the Bible is a book of wonderful rhythms in the purely lyric parts and of a pleasing cadence even in many prose passages, which fall upon the ear like solemn music. The slight archaism of speech increases the pictorial and musical effect of Bible language, investing the scenes with mystic meaning. An eminent English critic, Professor George Saintsbury, declares that the sixth and seventh verses of the eighth chapter of Solomon's Song furnish the best example known to him of "absolutely perfect English prose—harmonious, modulated, yet in no sense trespassing the limits of prose and becoming poetry":

"Set me a seal upon thine heart, as a seal upon thine arm: for love is strong as death; jealousy as cruel as the grave: the coals thereof are coals of fire, which hath a most vehement flame. Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it: if a man would give all the substance of his house for love, it would be utterly contemned."

As illustrative of verbal concreteness, pictorial quality, and cadenced effect it would be difficult to find in our literature more striking examples than the story of Joseph, parts of the Book of Ruth and of Job, the lament of David over Jonathan, many of the Psalms, the twelfth chapter of Ecclesiastes, parts of Isaiah, the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians, and numerous others.

The fourth of the Biblical qualities which make a strong literary appeal is found in the fact that the Bible is a Book of experiences, a pre-eminently personal book. "Literature is the personal use or exercise of language", Cardinal Newman once said: and no other book better illustrates this fundamental quality of literature than the English Bible. The writers of Biblical narrative, prophecy, and lyric—the three general divisions into which most of the literature of the Bible falls—were too much in earnest to employ mere ornament or even to develop their themes by elaborate argument. Too much depended on what they had to say for any such aesthetic trifling or dialectic subtleties. They went straight to the point, painting a picture with a few masterly strokes, telling their

message without a multitude of detail in direct and simple language assuming that those whom they addressed were as eager to hear as they themselves were eager to speak out what God had revealed to them. This directness and earnestness of statement, this dignity and sincerity, this pulsating vigor, gave to what they said a weight which no elaborate devices of art or exhaustive details of argument could possibly give. They were not at all concerned with the method, but only with the matter, or rather with the spirit; they were on fire with the truth, and their concern may be summed up in the words of the Master: "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free". Now, this sense of vivid reality is just the quality which makes great literature, for it renders prose and poetry permanently interesting. Moreover, throughout the Bible there is oneness of purpose together with variety: whether it be simple narrative, impassioned oratory, triumphal lyric, expository essay, a problem-drama as in Job, or a song of penitence and aspiration, or a mystic vision of prophecy fulfilled, one predominant sentiment binds the books into a spiritual whole as unmistakably as do the actual covers. The Bible is one book in a more real sense than Shakespeare or Milton is one book. Variety in unity—this of itself is enough to entitle the Bible to be called great literature: the unifying principle is man's personal relation to a personal God, set forth in a series of experiences actual or potential.

It naturally follows, therefore, that a book with such literary characteristics as these, universally accessible in sinewy and harmonious English prose, would profoundly interest the literature as well as the life of the English people and their descendants in all parts of the world. In what ways, then, has the English Bible of 1611 affected the prose and poetry of our tongue during the last three centuries? What traces of this supreme guide in faith and conduct are discoverable in the thought and expression of the literary masters of our race? Many eminent writers have avowed their debt to the Bible in formal terms: others have quite as effectively shown their obligation through the delicate medium of unconscious imi-

tation; all, indeed, are debtors, directly or indirectly. Ruskin, for instance, declares that the best part of his taste for literature and his ear for the music of words and phrases came from his daily reading aloud of the Bible with his mother in his childhood and boyhood, and from memorizing a number of chapters. This tribute he concludes with the oft-quoted assertion:

"And truly, though I have picked up the elements of a little further knowledge....and owe not a little to the teachings of many people, this maternal installation of my mind in that property of chapters, I count very confidently the most precious, and, on the whole, the one essential part of my education."

Matthew Arnold, who has perhaps written more about the Bible than any other essayist and poet, was particularly fond of Isaiah: "From no poetry and literature, not even from our own Shakespeare and Milton, great as they are and our own as they are, have I, for my own part, received so much delight and stimulus as from Homer and Isaiah." Macaulay speaks of the Bible as "a book which, if everything else in our language should perish, would alone suffice to show the whole extent of its beauty and power." Elsewhere, referring to Bunyan, he says: "He had studied no great model of composition, with the exception—an important exception undoubtedly—of our noble translation of the Bible." Sir Walter Scott's well known words to his son-in-law, Lockhart, who had asked him from what book he wished him to read, will always bear repeating as the tribute of a dying author who owed much to the Bible in many ways: "Need you ask? There is but one." Scott's contemporary, the poet Wordsworth, refers to the prophetic and lyrical parts of the Holy Scriptures as "the grand storehouses of enthusiastic and meditative imagination." About a hundred years before this Jonathan Swift wrote of the Authorized Version: "The translators of our Bible were masters of an English style much fitter for that work than any which we see in our present writings, which I take to be owing to the simplicity that

runs through the whole." Quotations showing the esteem in which English writers held the Bible as a literary masterpiece might be multiplied, but these will suffice.

More significant, indeed, than these formal expressions are the evidences in the style and diction of leading writers of the permeative influence of the English Bible in English literature. This influence is naturally most obvious in writings on religious themes, such as Milton's poems and parts of his prose, and Bunyan's works. The poetry of Milton is of course full of Biblical imagery, though Milton's diction does not suggest Biblical language as much as his subject-matter does Biblical lore. Milton's *Samson Agonistes* is the only great drama in English literature on a purely Biblical theme put into the form of a Greek tragedy. Milton did not habitually use the King James Version; it appeared when he was three years old, and many years passed before it was absorbed into the life of the nation; to the preceding versions he probably owed more, and these, as already indicated, were not fundamentally different from that of 1611. A study of Biblical allusions and colorings in Spenser and Shakespeare would make this clear. Still, the Bible is so essentially a part of Milton that a dip into any of his longer poems means immediate contact with Scriptural persons and scenes, though they are often curiously interwoven with classical figures and legends. But when we come to Bunyan we find ourselves drinking from the wells of Biblical English undefiled. Brought up on the Authorized Version and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs,* a dissenter and a Puritan, John Bunyan so thoroughly assimilated the language of Scripture that it became his own natural speech. *Pilgrim's Progress* more nearly resembles the Bible in the simplicity and concreteness of its diction than any other English classic; and there is probably no other prose classic outside of the Bible which has had more influence on popular speech. This religious allegory, with its familiar imagery and quotation and its amazing realism, not only re-inforced the teachings of the Bible in the minds and lives of the people, but helped to democratize

literature and in so doing contributed to the birth of the English novel in the next century.

While Biblical quotation in an exact or modified form is fairly common among secular writers, particularly in that impassioned branch of literature, oratory, it is in the matter of allusion that English literature reveals its immense debt to the Bible. It is hardly too much to say that through allusion much of the Bible is in solution in our literature from Shakespeare to Tennyson. In the plays of Shakespeare there are fully two hundred passages containing Biblical allusions or adaptations; Dr. Van Dyke has found in the poems of Tennyson more than four hundred direct references to the Bible. Of the great poets of the nineteenth century Wordsworth, Browning and Tennyson make the widest use of the Bible, though allusions abound in all of them. It is, however, in the simple cadenced prose of our English and American writers that we find Biblical diction and Biblical allusions most perfectly combined. Several more or less familiar quotations will illustrate this. Here are a few sentences from Addison's *Vision of Mirzah*:

"He then led me to the highest pinnacle of the rock, and placing me on the top of it, "Cast thy eyes eastward", said he, "and tell me what thou seest." "I see", said I, "a huge valley, and a prodigious tide of water rolling through it." "The valley that thou seest", said he, "is the Vale of Misery, and the tide of water that thou seest is part of the great tide of eternity."

This is unmistakably reminiscent of Biblical diction and tone, though the allusion is not very direct. The directness of the allusions in the following sentence from Shelley's *Defense of Poetry* has often been noted:

"Their errors have been weighed and found to have been dust in the balance; if their sins were scarlet, they are now white as snow; they have been washed in the blood of the mediator and redeemer, Time."

Matthew Arnold is fond of giving point to a preceding assertion by using in the next sentence a Biblical quotation

or allusion; thus, in speaking of Wordsworth he continues:

"He is one of the very chief glories of English Poetry; and by nothing is England so glorious as by her poetry. Let us lay aside every weight which hinders our getting him recognized as such."

Without multiplying examples, mention may be made of the musical prose of Bunyan, of Dickens, of Ruskin, of Stevenson, of Carlyle, of Hawthorne, of Thackeray at his best, and of Lincoln in the Gettysburg speech and the inaugurals —men of diverse temperaments and training but all more or less revealing in their style and diction familiarity with the wonderful prose of the English Bible on which they were brought up. Some one has of late been counting the Biblical allusions in Edgar Allen Poe, and finds them surprisingly numerous; Whittier of course abounds in them, as do Longfellow, Lowell, and Bryant. Of all American poets, however, Whitman reflects most notably the long swinging rhythm of Bible poetry; indeed, no other poet has caught so well and so splendidly reproduced the strong rolling music of the stately lyric utterances of the English Bible. By dint of reading them aloud, Whitman at last made the sonorous tones his own favorite style of utterance.

Biblical phrases and allusions have become the current coin of our daily speech as well as mosaics in the structure of our more formal literature. Such phrases, for instance, as the following we commonly hear in conversation or see in magazines and newspapers: "a thorn in the flesh", "root of all evil", "heap coals of fire", "the handwriting on the wall", "weighed in the balance and found wanting", "highways and hedges", "broken reed", "the fat of the land", "the dust of the balance", "still small voice", "lick the dust", "repented in sackcloth and ashes", "a law unto themselves", "clear as crystal", "the sweat of his brow", "to your tents, O Israel", "arose as one man", "his brother's keeper", "moth and rust". Numerous others will occur to every reader of this article. Many proper names from the Bible are in common use to connote desirable or undesirable personal qualities: a good

Samaritan, a Solomon, a Methuselah, a Job, a Dives, 'a regular Jezebel', 'a doubting Thomas', a Sampson, 'to raise Cain', a Jehu (coachman), a Judas, maudlin (corruption of Magdalene), 'a perfect Babel of sounds', etc. There are, besides, numerous examples of Biblical allusion and modified quotation in current literature: 'They have fallen among thieves', 'they are looking out for the loaves and the fishes', 'he sold his birthright for a mess of pottage', 'he is a prophet without honor', 'he passed by on the other side', 'the very stones will cry out against such proceeding', 'we are the people'. The titles of a considerable number of present-day novels are Biblical phrases: *The Fruit of the Tree, The Road to Damascus, The Tents of Wickedness, The Way of a Man, To Him That Hath, A Stumbling Block, A Fountain Sealed, As a Man Thinketh,* and so on. Professor A. S. Cook, of Yale (to whose well know monograph on the Authorized Version I am indebted for certain details) says that in a recent book on life in an Italian province sixty-three Biblical references were found; in a recent work on the life of wild animals, twelve; and in a novel by Thomas Hardy, eighteen. In Walter Pater's delightful little sketch, *The Child in the House,* I have noted eleven or twelve Biblical references. If space permitted, such illustrations might be almost indefinitely multiplied. Sufficient evidence of the pervasive influence of the English Bible on our language and literature has already been given fully to warrant the assertion of Coleridge in his Table-Talk: "Intense study of the Bible will keep any writer from being vulgar in point of style."

If the Bible had been translated into the literary language of the early seventeenth century, it would never have so profoundly influenced subsequent literature; fortunately, the scholars who undertook the task, 'diligently compared and revised the former translations', retaining much of the simple and already familiar idiom of the earlier versions. This gave an archaic tinge to the language of the Authorized Version sufficient to make the English "sweet upon the tongue" without destroying the popular nature of the speech. Everybody read

it and came in time to love it, consciously or unconsciously, for its simplicity, harmony and energy. It grew into the life of the nation, became a bond of union among the various branches of the English race scattered over the world, the acknowledged charter of our faith, by whatever name in Christendom we may be called. Certainly this English Bible through long inheritance is in solution in the religious, political, social, and literary institutions of the Anglo-Saxon peoples; more than that, it is in the very blood of the men and women whose ancestors fought for spiritual liberty. This traditional significance of the English Bible in the life of the people accounts for its effect upon our literature. The older generations were brought up on it in the home; the boys and girls heard it read aloud and they were required to read it themselves; the reading and study of the Bible in school and college, as desirable as that is, can never take the place of that older home acquaintance with it. No book is really vital to you and me until we have taken it into our heart as a friend.

The truth is, the English Bible has always remained close to the heart of the English-speaking people through the many changes in literary taste. The tendency has been even in the periods of artificiality in our literature such as the eighteenth century, to swing back to the virile prose of the Bible whenever our writers became preachers of some sort of reform. It is noteworthy, indeed, that most of the great authors in English literature for the last two centuries, and more particularly those of the nineteenth century, were inspired by motives more or less moral and purposeful. This is true to the genius of the Anglo-Saxon, who is at heart a reformer and by instinct a prophet. In the early eighteenth century, for instance, Defoe and Swift, whose sinewy English resembles that of the Authorized Version, were social reformers; so was Addison and so was Steele; so in a more general way, later on, was Goldsmith, while Dr. Johnson was a conscious power for righteousness; and Edmund Burke used the Bible freely in his great speeches. Blake, the mystic poet, was

steeped in Biblical symbol; the early novelists professed to write with a moral purpose; Scriptural references are numerous in Burns, who learned the Bible from devout Scotch parents. In the next century the Romantic poets, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Shelley, were aspiring dreamers for social betterment; the novelists, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, Charlotte Bronte, Kingsley, Hawthorne, were in one way or another social reformers and conscious debtors to the English Bible; the essayists, notably Carlyle, Ruskin, Arnold, and Emerson, had traits of the Hebrew prophets; while the poets Browning and Tennyson are conspicuous for their use of the Bible. Thus it will be seen how essential a part of our literature the English Bible has always been; and if we will take the trouble to run through the poetry of Kipling, we may discover how intimately acquainted with its diction and spirit is the author of the *Recessional.* This is indeed a noble cloud of witnesses to the influence of the Bible in English literature.

It is to be devoutly hoped that this three hundredth birthday of the Authorized Version, which is being celebrated so widely wherever the English language is the national speech, will result in a renaissance of Bible reading particularly among the young. Let us lay aside the weight of comment *about* the Bible which now besets us and turn without let or hindrance to that masterly language and literature which formed an essential part of the culture of our fathers. For greater accuracy we would no doubt do well to consult newer translations, but the green pastures and the still waters of the Old Version should be our more habitual abiding-place if we would enter fully into the heritage of our noble tongue and its rich and varied literature. No mere mess of pottage in the shape of magazine or novel should lure the American youth, however hungry he may be, from the enjoyment of his birthright, the English Bible. He should read it until its perfect prose, its sublime imagery, its high harmony, and its divine message become a possession to him forever. So read, the English Bible of 1611 will continue to

ennoble the emotions, enrich the imagination, and mould the life of individuals and nations: its language will 'live in the ear like music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of church bells'; it will remain a 'part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness.'

# TOLSTOY'S RELIGION.

BY PRESIDENT EDWIN M. POTEAT, D.D., LL.D., GREENVILLE, S. C.

Tolstoy was born in 1828. He died in 1910. On the 22nd of February, 1901, in the seventy-third year of his life, the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Greek Church issued a decree of excommunication, in which it is said:

"In our days God has permitted a new false teacher to appear—Count Leo Tolstoy. A writer well known to the world, Russian by birth, Orthodox by baptism and education, Count Tolstoy under the seduction of his intellectual pride has insolently risen against the Lord and His Christ and against His Holy heritage, and has publicly in the sight of all men, repudiated the Orthodox Mother Church, which reared and educated him; and has devoted his literary activity and the talent given him by God, to disseminating among the people teachings repugnant to Christ and the Church and to destroying in the minds and hearts of men their national faith, the Orthodox faith....Therefore the Church does not reckon him as its member, and cannot so reckon him until he repents and resumes his communion with her....Many of those near to him retaining their faith, reflect with sorrow that he, at the end of his days, remains without faith in God and in our Lord and Saviour, having rejected the blessings and prayers of the Church, and all communion with her."

In his reply Tolstoy said, "That I have renounced the Church which calls itself Orthodox is perfectly correct. But I renounced it not because I had risen against the Lord, but on the contrary, only because with all the strength of my soul I wished to serve Him. Before renouncing the Church and fellowship with the people, which was inexpressibly dear to me, I—having seen some reasons to doubt the Church's integrity—devoted several years to the investigation of its theoretic and practical teachings. For the theory I read all I could about

church doctrine, and studied and critically analyzed dogmatic theology; while as to practical—for more than a year I followed strictly all the injunctions of the Church, observing all the fasts and all the services. And I became convinced that church doctrine is theoretically a crafty and harmful lie, and practically a collection of the grossest superstitions and sorcery, which completely conceals the whole of Christ's teaching.... 'He who begins by loving Christianity better than truth will proceed by loving his own sect or church better than Christianity, and in the end loving himself better than all', said Coleridge. I traveled the contrary way. I began by loving my Orthodox faith more than my peace; then I loved Christianity more than my Church; and now I love Truth more than anything in the world. And up to now Truth for me corresponds with Christianity, as I understand it. And I hold to this Christianity; and to the degree in which I hold to it, I live peacefully and happily, and peacefully and happily approach death."

Twelve years before his death Mr. G. H. Perris[1] wrote of him—"In naked worth, perhaps the greatest soul now alive on this earth." And when death came a leading magazine spoke of him as "the foremost man in the world of letters, a man who combined an extraordinary genius akin to madness with an extraordinary lack of common sense." A European paper speaks of him as "thought-poor"; and W. Dean Howells calls him "the greatest imaginative writer who ever lived".

The quotations here brought together set before us a strangely complex personality whose predominant characteristic was a passion for simplicity; and it will be seen at once that a study of his religion will lead us into the heart of religion itself; and will raise ultimate questions in the philosophy of the religious experience.

One takes considerable risk in attempting a generalization on Russia and Russians, but Mr. Perris, in the gripping vol-

(1) Leo Tolstoy: A Study in Personal Evolution, page 20.

ume already referred to says, (p.11): "Every Russian is a pilgrim....he is a foredoomed truth-seeker". And again (p.20): "This is the unknown quantity men call Russia; an immeasurable devotion, an immeasurable patience, an immeasurable industry, an immeasurable hunger for holiness. And the heart of Russia is Leo Tolstoy—a pilgrim of pilgrims, and sick with the sickness of his people".

Already in his early childhood, which he remembers as marked by "an innocent light-heartedness and an infinite need of love", he had shown an extraordinary sensitiveness to religious impressions. Of an itinerant fanatic praying in the moonlight, he exclaims[2]: "Oh Greesha! thou good Christian—how greatly didst thou glorify His greatness, when, unable to find any words, thou didst fall on the ground with tears". His mother, had died when he was in his third year, and his father when he was nine. His first guardian, the Countess Alexandra Osten-Saken had been "the graceful and poetic Aline with beautiful blue eyes, who used to love reading and copying French verses; who played on the harp and always had great success at the grandest balls". But after terrible experiences (Her husband became insane and tried to kill her.) she became "a truly religious woman. Her favorite occupation was reading the Lives of the Saints; communing with pilgrims, half crazy devotees, monks and nuns, of whom some always lived in our house....She was not merely outwardly religious, keeping the fasts, praying much and associating with people of saintly life, but she herself lived a truly Christian life, trying not only to avoid all luxury and acceptance of service, but herself serving others as much as possible. She never had any money for she gave away all to those who asked". His governess through all the period of his childhood, Aunty Tatiana, "took the first place in our upbringing by right of love to us, and we felt her right. I had fits of passionately tender love for her....Aunty Tatiana had the greatest influence on my life". He early fell into solitary musings and felt himself "alone in the search for the good". Writing of

(2) Maude: Life of Tolstoy—Vol. I: p. 24.

the period of 1840—when he was twelve or thirteen—he says: "At one time it occurred to me that happiness did not depend on outward causes, but upon the way we considered them; that a man who had grown used to suffering could never more be truly miserable, and in order to get myself inured to labor I used to hold Tatischeff's dictionary in my outstretched hand for five minutes, or would go into a closet and scourge my bare back with a rope so severely that the tears would flow down my cheeks".

A little later, like Shelley, he came powerfully under the illusion of the perfectibility of human nature. "At that time it seemed to us a feasible thing to improve humanity and to extirpate all human vices and sufferings; it seemed such a simple, easy thing to amend our own faults, to acquire every virtue and to be happy". We have here a trace of what will become his gospel of salvation by loving work. There was now no God; for a boy had brought from his grammar school a year before the announcement of the latest discovery. "The discovery was that there is no God, and that all we were taught about Him is a mere invention. I remember how interested my elder brothers were in this news, they called me to their council and we all, I remember, became animated and accepted the news as something very interesting and fully possible".

When he passed from these home influences at the age of fifteen to the University at Kazan, he entered upon a stretch of unhappy years. He had read the Sermon on the Mount; Old Testament stories; Rousseau's Confession, and David Copperfield, beside all the popular Russian writers. Of Rousseau, he says[3]: "I was more than enthusiastic about him, I worshipped him. At the age of fifteen I wore a medallion portrait of him next my body instead of the Orthodox cross". "The religious beliefs of my childhood disappeared....and as from the time I was fifteen I began to read philosophic works, my rejection of those beliefs very soon became a conscious one From the age of sixteen I ceased going to church and fasting on my own accord. Looking back on that time now I clearly

(3) Maude: Vol. I: p. 46.

see that my faith—my only real faith— was a belief in perfecting oneself". Again [4]: "I remember also at the University that when my elder brother suddenly in the passionate way natural to him, devoted himself to religion and began to attend all the church services, and to fast and to lead a pure and moral life, we all, and even our elders, unceasingly held him to ridicule, and called him 'Noah' ".

He left the University without a degree, and while there and afterward he followed the open road into all the vices of the fashionable society in which he moved. Let him tell the story of the next ten years in his own swift way. "I killed men in war; I lost at cards; wasted my substance wrung from my peasants; punished the latter cruelly; rioted with loose women, and deceived men; lying, robbery, adultery of all kinds; drunkenness, violence, and murder, I comitted them all; and yet I was none the less considered by my equals as a comparatively moral man.

During that time I began to write, out of vanity, love of gain, and pride".

But he had his qualms of conscience, flushes of repentance and at times he fell into deep self-loathing on account of his lapses. A companion describes him [5]: "He would vanish for one, two or three days....At last he would return—the very picture of a prodigal son, sombre, worn-out and dissatisfied with himself....Then he would take me aside, quite apart, and would begin his confessions. He would tell me all, how he had caroused, gambled, and where he had spent his days and nights, and all the time, if you will believe me, he would condemn himself and suffer as though he were a real criminal. He was so distressed that it was pitiful to see him".

After one of these fits of depression, in his twenty-seventh year, he writes [6]: "A conversation about Divinity and Faith has suggested to me a great, a stupendous idea, to the realization of which I feel myself capable of devoting my life. This

(4) My Confession.
(5) Maude: Vol. I: p. 127.
(6) Ibid: p. 130.

idea is the founding of a new religion corresponding to the present state of mankind; the religion of Christianity, but purged of dogmas and mysticism; a practical religion, not promising future bliss, but giving bliss on earth. I understand that to accomplish this the conscious labor of generations will be needed. One generation will bequeath the idea to another, and some day fanaticism or reason will accomplish it. *Deliberately* to promote the union of mankind by religion—that is the basic thought, which I hope will dominate me".

Already he had won distinction as a writer, and that same year (1855) he will publish *Sevastapol.* The next year he leaves the army and begins the career of a man of letters, and what with writing, travel, work for peasant schools at Yasnaya, association with literary men, Tourgènef and others, the years until his marriage in 1862 are very full. It was in 1860 that he visited the Wartburg, where Luther was imprisoned after the Diet of Worms, and when shown the room where Luther commenced his translation of the Bible he exclaimed, "Luther was great!"

September 20, 1860, his favorite brother, Nicolas Tolstoy died, "literally in my arms". And on October 13th he notes in his Diary: "At the very time of the funeral the thought occurred to me to write a Materialist Gospel, a Life of Christ as a Materialist".[7] "To whom can one pray?....A God whom one can beseech and whom one can serve—is the expression of mental weakness....Indeed He is not a Being but a law and a force".[8]

Yet his earlier religious impressions were never completely effaced, and out of the midst of his most reckless days he writes to his aunt:[9] "Religion and the experience I have of life (however small it may be) have taught me that life is a trial. In my case it is more than a trial; it is an expiation of my faults.....It is the hand of God that has guided me—I do not cease to thank Him for it".

(7) It may not be generally known that such a Life of Christ was written by Thomas Cooper, president of S. C. College, 1820-34.
(8) Ibid: p. 83.
(9) Maude: Vol. I: p. 73.

Or this from his Diary: [10] "He whose aim is his own happiness is bad; he whose aim is the good opinion of others is weak; he whose aim is the happiness of others is virtuous; he whose aim is God is great". And once more: [11] "All the prayers I have invented I replace by one prayer—'Our Father'. All the requests I can make to God are far more loftily expressed and more worthily of Him in the words, 'Thy Kingdom Come, as in Heaven, so on earth'!" And still again: "Lord I thank Thee for Thy continual protection. How surely Thou leadest me to what is good. What an insignificant creature should I be, if Thou abandoned me. Lord, give me what is necessary, not for the satisfaction of my poor aspirations, but that I may attain to the eternal, vast, unknown aim of existence, which lies beyond my ken".[12] As showing how nearly he approached evangelical ideas, the following words, in which he is expressing his horror of war and the insufficiency of bandages to mitigate it, may be quoted:[13] "It is not the suffering and mutilation and death of man's body that most needs to be diminished—but it is the mutilation and death of his soul. Not the *Red* Cross is needed, but the simple Cross of Christ to destroy falsehood and deception". Indeed, from his earliest years he showed affinity for the Christian ideal of humility, meekness and self-sacrifice, and this affinity was more pronounced after he had read Greek Literature (1870), which presents an outlook on life so different from his own.

But the great crisis, his "spiritual rebirth" as he calls it, is not reached till 1878—his fiftieth year. Meantime he is reading widely—Bacon, Luther, Froebel, Proudhon, Schopenhauer, the Lives of the Saints, Pascal, Kant, etc., etc. Of Schopenhauer, he says: [14] "Do you know what this summer has been for me? An unceasing ecstasy over Schopenhauer, and a series of mental enjoyments such as I never experienced before. I have bought all of his works and have read and am reading

(10) Ibid I: p. 91.
(11) Ibid I: p. 117.
(12) Ibid: Vol. I: p. 136.
(13) Ibid: Vol. I: p. 315.
(14) Maude: Vol. I: p. 342.

them (as well as Kant's). I do not know whether I shall ever change my opinion, but at present I am confident that Schopenhauer is the greatest genius among men".

Thus interest in literature and philosophy, his writing, the cares of a family and a large estate, absorbed him for fifteen years, and by these means he succeeded in stifling in his soul "all questions as to the meaning of my (his) own life, or of life in general".

Up to this point his life might be summarized in the words of the preacher (Ec.2): "I said in mine heart, Go to now, I will prove thee with mirth; therefore enjoy pleasure; and, behold, this also was vanity....I made me great works; I builded me houses; I planted me vinyards; I made me gardens and parks and I planted trees in them of all kinds of fruit....I bought men-servants and maidens....also I had great possessions of herds and flocks....I gathered me also silver and gold....and whatsoever mine eyes desired I kept not from them; I witheld not from my heart any joy.... Then I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought and on all the labor that I had labored to do; and, behold, all was vanity and a striving after wind, and there was no profit under the sun".

That he is approaching Koheleth's conclusion—all is vanity—see a letter bearing date January 30, 1872:[15] "In Nirvana there is nothing to laugh at; still less is there cause for anger. We all (I at least) feel that it is much more interesting than life; but I agree that however much I may think about it I can think of nothing less than that Nirvana is Nothingness. I only stand up for one thing: religious reverence—awe of that Nirvana".

And after expressing approval of the burial of his brother's child in spite of his repugnance toward ceremonial rites, he goes on—"For me at least those Slavonic words evoke quite the same metaphysical ecstasy as one experiences when one thinks of Nirvana. Religion is wonderful in that she has for so many ages rendered to so many millions of people the same

(15) Maude: Vol. I: p. 370.

service, the greatest anything human can render in this matter. With such a task how can she be logical? Yes, there is something in her".

In 1875 a priest Vasili Ivanovitch, who had come to the house to teach the children was detained over night by a snow-storm, and "the count began a conversation with him, and they did not go to bed till daylight....From that day Leo Nikolaievitch became very thoughtful, and always talked with Vasili Ivanovitch. When Lent came round the Count got up one morning and said: 'I am going to do my devotions, and prepare to receive communion'....From that day, for a couple of years, he always went to church, seldom missing a Sunday. The whole village was surprised and asked, 'What has the Priest told the Count, that has suddenly made him so fond of church going?' "

He was in the thick of the five years' inner struggle which culminated in his writing *"My Confession"* (1878). It is impossible in this article to give even the briefest summary of this remarkable human document. The pen that wrote it was dipped in blood, and the leaves are wet with tears. It is plain, grave, ruthless; with sad lucidity it uncovers the refuge of lies in which worldly people hide, and calls them out to endure the convicting gaze of Truth. It recounts the bewildered groping of a lost soul; the feeding on ashes; the pining hunger; the despair—"Lord, have mercy, save me! Lord teach me!' But no one had mercy on me, and I felt that my life was coming to a standstill".

He sought help of the philosophers—"Where philosophy does not lose sight of the essential question, its answer is always the same; an answer given by Socrates, Schopenhauer, Solomon, Buddha". "To go on living knowing that life is a stupid joke played upon us....was to me repulsive and tormenting, but I remained in that position". "My position was terrible—I knew I could find nothing along the path of reasonable knowledge, except a denial of life; and in faith I could find nothing but a denial of reason, still more impossible to me than a denial of life".

"Finally I saw that my mistake lay in ever expecting an

examination of finite things to supply a meaning to life. The finite has no ultimate meaning apart from the infinite. The two must be linked together before an answer to life's problems can be reached."

Then he sought help of the religious people—Buddhists, Mohammedans, Christians of all types, including evangelicals who profess salvation by belief in the Redemption. He returned to the Church. "Never shall I forget the painful feeling I experienced the day I received the Eucharist for the first time after many years. The service, confession and prayers were quite intelligible and produced in me a glad consciousness that the meaning of life was being revealed to me. The Communion itself I explained as an act performed in remembrance of Christ and indicating a purification from sin and the full acceptance of Christ's teaching. If that explanation was artificial, I did not notice the artificiality; so happy was I at humbling myself before the priest—a simple, timid, country clergyman—turning all the dirt out of my soul and confessing my vices; so glad was I to merge in thought with the humility of the Fathers who wrote the prayers of the office, so glad was I of union with all who have believed and now believe, that I did not notice the artificiality of my explanation. But when I approached the altar gates and the priest made me say that I believed that what I was about to swallow was truly flesh and blood, I felt a pain in my heart; it was not merely a false note, it was a cruel demand made by someone or other who had evidently never known what faith is....It was indescribably painful to me....I humbled myself and swallowed that flesh and blood without any blasphemous feelings, and with a wish to believe. But the blow had been struck, and knowing what awaited me, I could not go a second time."

Then like Bunyan he listened to the conversation of some illiterate peasants—"about God, faith, life and salvation, and a knowledge of faith revealed itself to me"—and on turning to the Gospels he found in the five precepts of Matthew 5 a sure foundation for faith and life.[16]

(16) Perris: p. 159.

1. "To offend no one, and by no act to excite evil in others, for out of evil comes evil.

2. To be in all things chaste, and not to quit the wife whom we have taken.

3. Never to take an oath, because we can promise nothing, for man is altogether in the hands of the Father, and oaths are imposed for wicked ends.

4. Not to resist evil, to bear with offenses, and to do yet more than is demanded of us; neither to judge nor to go to law, for every man is himself full of faults and cannot teach. By seeking revenge men only teach others to do the same.

5. To make no distinction between our own countrymen and foreigners, for all men are children of one Father.

In other words "Do not be angry"; "Do not lust"; "Do not give away the control of your future actions"; "Do not use violence against men who act in a way you disapprove of"; and "Love your enemies".

Here is Mr. Aylmer Maude's comment[17]: "By arriving at the conclusion that we are parts of a moral universe, and only in so far as we discern that order and adjust ourselves to it, has life any meaning and purpose that is not defeated by death, Tolstoy reached the ultimate root of religion. Through strife and suffering to have found it by his own effort, and to have proclaimed it in the teeth of those who denounced him as a heretic and atheist, as well as of those who sneered at him as a superstitious dotard, is an achievement that entitles him to rank among the prophets."

For the remaining thirty-two years of his life he devoted himself to the heroic attempt to warm the winter's cold from his own fire; he tried to practice the meaning of life, which had now become plain to him. His own account of his life was that it fell into three periods—in the first he served himself; in the second he served his fellows; in the third he served God. The following titles of books he wrote in the third period will indicate the center of his interest: *"Criticism of Dogmatic Theology"; "My Religion"; "What Then Must*

(17) Maude: Vol. II: p. 38.

*We Do?"; "The Kingdom of God is Within You"; "Reason and Religion"; "Religions and Morality"; "How to Read the Gospels"; "Christianity and Patriotism"; "What is Religion?"*. And on the side of practice his renunciations included all his estates, property in his books, luxury in food and dress (at one time he was a dandy), hunting, of which he was very fond, meat, tobacco and for a time even horseback riding; while he still reproached himself that he found it so difficult to match a Christian peasant, Soutaef, in altering his life to suit his perception of what was right. As to his inner life of communion with God he writes to a friend (1901 [18]) "I have long since formed the habit of praying every morning in solitude", and then he gives as his prayer a remarkable paraphrase of the Lord's prayer, and adds: "Besides that prayer....I read the thoughts of Saints and Sages, not Christians only, and I meditate, seeking out what in God's sight there is of evil in my heart, and trying to rid myself of it. I also try to pray in active life, when I am among people and passions assail me. Then I try to remember what went on in my soul when I prayed in solitude, and the more sincere my prayer was, the more easily do I refrain from evil".

Earlier (1889) he had written to another friend: "I often say to myself 'Live rejoicing unceasingly in (what no one can anywhere prevent) the joy of doing God's will in purity, humility and love'." And again: "It is for the most part well with my soul. Indeeed it would be a sin were it not so. Seldom a day passes without joyful proofs that the fire which Christ brought to earth is kindling more and more".

That he classified himself as a Christian is shown in other letters. For example:[19] "The saying of Christ that—'If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me' was true in His time, and is true in ours; a follower of Christ must be ready to be poor and to suffer; if not he cannot be His disciple". This letter

(18) Maude: Vol. II: p. 61.
(19) Maude: Vol. II: p. 356.

is signed—"Your Brother in Christ, Leo Tolstoy." In 1885 his friend Frey had urged him to renounce the name of Christianity for his system. Tolstoy replied:[20] "I cannot do so, for all I know comes from Christ, and I am still continually learning from Him, I think I shall learn yet more in the future". And once more:[21] "Please don't be frightened at the word 'Christianity'—I mean nothing mystical, but simply the love of man by man". In 1894 his friend Gay had finished his picture of the Crucifixion;[22] he brought it to show to Tolstoy who asked to be left alone with it. Gay on returning to the room found him in tears. Embracing him Tolstoy said: "I feel, dear friend, that *that* was how it really happened"!

Of Nietzsche he said:[23] "He was a real madman, but what talent!....Great God, what savagery! It is terrible so to drag down Christianity!"

At the last his tone was gentle, submissive, trustful: "I am eighty years old, and I am still searching for truth". "Physical and mental strength decreases but something else (moral strength) greatly increases. I would on no account exchange what I am now, for what I was sixty years ago."

This article might end here, for it contains a description for the most part in Tolstoy's own words, of his religion. But inadequate as the description is, it yet raises questions which carry us beyond Tolstoy and the classification to which he is entitled as a religious man. As to the latter, we are not prepared to fix his classification till we have taken account of his attitude towards various conceptions of the subject matter of religion. He defines religion as "a certain relation established by man between his separate personality and the infinite universe or its source; and morality is the ever present guide to life resulting from that relation". "Every sane man must of necessity have a religion (whether of selfishness, or patriotism, or obedience to some Lord or Law): that is to say, must

(20) Ibid: p. 221.
(21) Maude: Vol. II: p. 483.
(22) Ibid: p. 492.
(23) Maude: Vol. II: p. 499.

have some outlook on life enabling him to know why he approves of some things and disapproves of others".

We have seen that he was a man of prayer, but he did not believe in the personality of God.[24] He often speaks of the guidance of God, but after such a reference he remarked:[25] "I speak of a *personal* God, whom I do not acknowledge for the sake of convenience of expression". "I believe in God, whom I understand as Spirit, as Love, as the source of all. I believe that He is in me, and I in Him. I believe that the will of God is most clearly and intelligently expressed in the teaching of the Man Jesus, whom to consider and pray to, as God, I esteem the greatest blasphemy".[26] His frank electicism in religion is shown in the following quotation from "What is Religion" (1902): "For us the true religion is Christianity in those of its principles in which it agrees, not with the external forms, but with the basic principles of Brahmanism, Confucianism, Taoism, Hebraism, Buddhism, and even Mohammedanism. And these principles are very simple, intelligible and clear.

They are: That there is a God, the origin of all things; that in man dwells a spark from that Divine Origin, that man by his way of living, can increase or decrease that spark in himself;that to increase this divine spark man must suppress his passions and increase love in himself; and that the practical means to attain this result is to do to others as you would that they should do to you". From this it will be clear that Tolstoy will hear of Redemption with impatience, and even with resentment. To a young evangelist, William Fettler[27] who had spoken of Christ as the Saviour of sinners by means of his death and resurrection he cried out: "I cannot listen to you. Much better is it for us to walk in silence than to speak so unprofitably". In the same conversation Mr. Fettler had spoken of Jesus as a living Saviour, and of the Christian hope of His appearing. To this Tolstoy replied: "I have no

(24) Maude: Vol. II: p. 60.
(25) Ibid: p. 645.
(26) Ibid II: p. 580.
(27) With Christ in Russia—by Latimer.

such expectation. If some one were to come here to us now and tell us that the risen Christ had arrived in Yasnaya Polyana, and was walking in the garden over there, I would not care to have a look at Him. It is a mere superstition. He has been dead for nearly two milleniums". The only resurrection he believed in appears in a comment he wrote on the Dourkobors[28] (Spirit Wrestlers who interested him profoundly)—" the germinating of the seed sown by Christ eighteen hundred years ago, the resurrection of Christ himself."

Of course he rejects the whole Pauline interpretation of Christianity, feeling no need of Paul's "doctrinal apparatus or propitiatory machinery".[29] "Do not quote Paul to me. I do not believe in Paul".

"I hold the doctrine of Salvation by the blood of Christ to be one of the most irrational, senseless, unsubstantiated of opinions; a gross superstition....men have no need of rescue. They require no Saviour's blood, they must only do God's will....Love God and thy neighbor. In this consisted the whole law".[30]

In the novel entitled *"Resurrection"* (1899), just after an evangelical preacher had said "Let us praise the Lord, who has given His only begotten Son for the redemption of mankind. His holy blood"....we read—"Nekludoff felt so deeply disgusted that he rose silently and frowning and keeping back a groan of shame, he left on tiptoe, and went to his room".[31] Yet he writes in *My Religion*—"I believe that nothing but the fulfillment of the doctrine of Jesus can give true happiness to men....I cannot refuse to obey it, if I would save my life from the certainty of eternal loss....The doctrine of Jesus Christ is a doctrine of grace and truth. Once I knew not grace and knew not truth. I understand and believe now that the good toward which I was attracted is the will of the Father, the essence of life".[32]

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(28) Maude: Vol. II: p. 508.
(29) W. James: Varieties of Religious Experiences, p. 211.
(30) Resurrection: p. 303.
(31) My Religion: p. 245.
(32) Letter: Oct., 1910.

From these quotations it will be seen that Tolstoy knew Jesus only as a Sage, the greatest of the sages; and thus in Tolstoy's experience we have presented in the concrete "the modern issue as to the person of Jesus Christ".[33]

A student once asked Phillips Brooks the question—"Is conscious personal fellowship with Jesus Christ part of Christianity"? The great preacher hesitated, reflected and replied decisively—"Conscious personal fellowship with Jesus Christ is Christianity. That is what differentiates the religion of the Bible from all others". Tolstoy's religion was not of this type; and yet it has to be admitted that he attained a high character under the discipline of religion; and that he exhibited an almost unique loyalty to what he felt to be his duty—"Acting contrary to the Law of Christ is worse than death".[34] He protests, "the great sin is to lower the ideal of Christ in order to make it attainable".

Miss Jane Addams visited him (1896) and wrote—[35] "The glimpse of Tolstoy has made a profound impression on me; not so much by what he said, as the life, the gentleness, the Christianity in the soul of him".

To sum up, though one hesitates to attempt a summary of elements apparently so contradictory; for we are dealing with one who has much in common with the medieval saint and the oriental fatalist; and who never wholly escaped from the clash of contrary ideals and tendencies in his own soul.

1—The background of all his thinking about religion is the Greek Catholic Church. Remember that, and consider that he lived through the last half of the nineteenth century. He never felt to the full the stress of the Darwinian revolution, but he knew and responded to the deeper reaction of philosophy and criticism against traditional views of religion. He characterized Renan's "Life of Jesus" as a "merely childish, trivial and mean prank"; but Voltaire, Schopenhauer and other philosophers, together with the study of comparative Religion led him into deep revolt against the Orthodox Greek

(33) Rev. & Expos.: Jan, 1911.
(34 Letter to Rev. Aldin Ballou.
(35) Maude: Vol. II: p. 525

Church. He says—[36] "No religion has ever preached things so evidently incompatible with reason and with contemporary knowledge or so immoral as the doctrine preached by Church-Christianity". So violent was this revolt that, though he met and conversed with, and was deeply impressed by many simple believers, yet evangelical Christianity was never fairly faced, and accordingly never gained access to his mind. His experience at the Communion, recited earlier in this paper was "indescribably painful", and yet he probably never again came so near to the Kingdom in the evangelical sense of the phrase as on that day. "Knowing what awaited me I could not go a second time"; and his complete rejection of Evangelicalism was from that day inevitable. In the presence of such a tragedy one feels that a petrified ecclesiasticism calling itself Christianity is a crime against mankind, a monstrous hindrance to honest religion.

It is idle to guess what might have been the result if Tolstoy's approach to Christianity had been through the ministry of, say, Stundists, for example; but we may be permitted to wish that so sincere an inquirer might have been spared the painful, and as it proved, vain struggle to find the truth in the veneered paganism of his native "Orthodox Church".

2—He is a thorough-going rationalist. Says Maude [37]—"Some men take to religion at the prompting of the heart; others at the prompting of the brain; and Tolstoy belongs to the latter category, not from lack of heart, but because, strong as are his emotions, his intellectual powers are stronger still". He recovered the God, whom he lost in his youth, at the end of a syllogism—[38]"I know that I shall be blamed; but still I must repeat! 'Reason, Reason, Reason.' There is no other way to reach the truth". And he repeatedly resents the charge of being a mystic, of claiming an inner light denied to other men. Indeed his rejection of the personality of God carried with it a denial of Revelation, and laid on the reason the whole burden of finding truth. The truth

(36) What is Religion?
(37) Vol. I: p. 400.
(38) Ibid: Vol. I: p. 416.

Jesus found, he found in this way. So Buddha also. And Tolstoy's religion is a blend of Buddhist and Christian elements—the Buddhist elements predominating. That is to say, he takes his place among the Enlightened, not among the Redeemed; and the enlightenment he attained he attained like Buddha, in a long and stressful meditation accompanied by painful ascetic disciplines. We have seen that in his youth he used to beat his bare back with a rope till the tears would flow down his cheeks. In his eightieth year he wrote—[39]"Nothing really would so fully satisfy me, or give me such pleasure as to be put in prison, in a real, good, stinking, cold, hungry, prison". In his Confession he recites his adoption of asceticism: "The aim of man in life is to save his soul; and to save his soul he must live godly; and to live godly he must renounce all the pleasures of life, must labor, humble himself, suffer and be merciful". These words might have been taken from a manual of Buddhist piety. And, indeed, the three periods of Tolstoy's life correspond in a striking, and by no means superficial way with the three periods in the life of Gautama—the periods, namely, of absorption in the pleasures of life, of search for the meaning of life, of enlightenment and effort to make others see the light. More especially do Tolstoy's Buddhist affinities appear in his idea of the future: [40] "If one is to understand by life beyond the grave, the Second Advent, a hell with eternal torments, devils, and a Paradise of perpetual happiness—it is perfectly true that I do not acknowledge such a life beyond the grave; but eternal life and retribution here and everywhere, now and forever, I acknowledge to such an extent that standing now at the verge of the grave, I often have to make an effort to restrain myself from desiring the death of this body, that is birth to a new life; and I believe that every good action increases the true welfare of my eternal life, and every evil action decreases it". Here

(39) Maude: Vol. II: p. 636.
(40) Maude: Vol. II: p. 579.

surely, is a close approach to the Buddhist doctrine of retribution (Karma).

"The characteristic word of Christianity is—'Grace' as the characteristic word of Buddhism is Karma. Grace is the bending love and the stooping pity which looses us from our past, which delivers us from our burdens and weakness. Karma is the quality of our actions, which determines our future condition by the blind and unconscious concatenation of cause and effect, by dark and capricious regulations and consequences".[41]

It is true that Tolstoy reproaches Buddhism because it gives up this world as a bad job and because it accepts what is wrong in it as inevitable[42]—whereas true Christianity undertakes to establish a Kingdom of Righteousness here and now. And it is also true, that though he was fascinated by the Buddhist conception of Nirvana, there is no evidence that he adopted the vast cycles of existences (transmigration of souls) through which the individual, according to the Buddhist system, is to attain Nirvana; his own conception of personal immortality was too vague for that. Yet it remains true that his religious system, following a clue given him by Schopenhauer, is an amalgamation of the principles of Buddhism and Christianity.[43]

3—I have said that the Buddhist elements predominate. To put this proposition beyond dispute, it is only necessary to consider one other point—the forgiveness of sins. Here he falls far short of the Christian view, and of the Christian experience.

We have seen that Tolstoy suffered terribly in his periodic repentances[44] and there is deep pathos in that passage of the Confession in which he describes his hunger for God. But his repentance—better call it remorse—, and his dealings with God never yielded a sense of sins forgiven. The Epistle to the Hebrews was a sealed book to him;the cleansed conscience

(41) W. Robertson Nicoll.
(42) Maude: Vol. II: p. 607.
(43) Perris: Leo Tolstoy, p. 65.
(44) Maude: Vol. I: p. 219.

was a piece of self-deception. Goethe and Ibsen and Tolstoy; Augustine, Luther and Bunyan—these two groups make conspicuous the distinction here pointed out. The first three felt the soul-sickness as poignantly as any men who ever lived; but it is to the other three we must look to find the cure in an experience of free forgiveness through Christ the Redeemer.

Now, the forgiveness of sins is a transaction between persons, and no one who evaporates his God into "a spiritual element"[45] is ever likely to know the meaning of it; as no sunny-minded, sky-blue Pantheist will ever know the meaning of it. Bunyan came on the line of conscience to despair—it was a sense of sin and guilt—,and the relief he found was *a cleansing of his conscience;* and his peace was as a river. Tolstoy came on the line of reason to despair—it was a discovery of the vanity of life—and such relief as he found was in a *view of the world and of life* (*Weltánschauung*). I do not mean to depreciate the relief Tolstoy found; it was immense, and it may even be admitted that some who find the other type of relief miss this; reconciled to God, they never attain a satisfying world-view. But the relief of forgiveness is after all, deeper than the relief of enlightenment, and Tolstoy's Diary may be cited in proof. As late as 1903[46] he writes: "I am now experiencing the torments of hell. I remember all the abominations of my former life". One finds no indication that he ever heard the words—"Thy sins are forgiven thee; go in peace". On the contrary, he is constantly encouraging people never to cease to strive to attain goodness; they will succeed if they persevere. But their success will be their own achievement—an achievement made by main force, so to speak; there is no atoning Saviour, no Living Lord to help, and no blotting out of past sins as a thick cloud. And to the last, his own struggle, while not without hope, retained the sombre hue, as of one resolved to fight the last fight with courage, even though the issue might remain hidden from his

(45) Maude: Vol. II: p. 677.
(46) Maude: Vol III: p. 402.

eyes. It was a struggle to live up to the ideal required by the Kingdom of God[47] "to realize which we must be as perfect as the Father, i. e. the ideal of external as well as internal perfection". He tried to live up to this ideal of love without the help of Him Who set it before us, the Living Lord of Love. Christ alone can give the life He demands: and Tolstoy came to attach less and less importance to Christ's personality, saying in a letter (1900)[48] of a book he read: "In this book it is very well argued (the probability is as strong against as for) that Christ never existed". To such a mind the Sermon on the Mount is not a Gospel but a condemnation, not a salvation, but a doom. Surely Paul and Augustine are sounder teachers here: Paul who gives his autobiography in four words—"Christ liveth in me"; and Augustine, who prays, "O Lord, give what Thou commandest, and then command what Thou wilt". Tolstoy never got out of the seventh chapter of Romans—never beyond the "O wretched man that I am"! of that chapter, and one listens in vain through all his experience for the apostolic assurance and gratitude: "I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord"; or for the apostolic paean of praise "Unto Him that loveth us, and loosed us from our sins in His blood. . . . to Him be the glory and the dominion forever and ever. Amen"

4—One point more. We have seen in the discussion of the last point that Tolstoy's "Christianity" errs by defect, by a fatal defect: he misses the essential Christian fact, the forgiveness of sins through our Lord Jesus Christ, and is thus thrown into the company of all those—Buddhists and others—who are struggling unaided up some "eight-fold path" toward perfection. And true to his rationalist bent, religion with him[49] is "the sense of a relation which man himself establishes between himself and the infinite life surrounding him: and faith is man's consciousness of this relationship, his consciousness that his position in the world is such as obliges him to do certain things". "Faith is a relation man is con-

(47) Maude: Vol. II: p. 415.
(48) Maude: Vol. II: p. 598 ff.
(49) Maude: Vol. II: p. 125.

scious of towards the infinite universe, and from this relation the direction of his activity results". Thus religion is a perception of certain truths about one's world and his place in it; in a word, a view of the world. And he exorts people to change their views, their outlook on life. He regrets his inability to help the poor upon whom he had bestowed alms, because nothing short of a change of their views of life would really meet their case.[50] All he could do was to tell them his own views, the truths he had found; and he held on to the conviction[51] that "a message exists which can destroy all evil in men and give them universal welfare". In this Tolstoy has not gone beyond Socrates, and he knows of no provision of cleansing the tainted will and creating in a perverted will a purpose to do the right which the intellect perceives. Tolstoy does not know Religion as a personal fellowship with a personal God, who, according to Christianity, is in and through Jesus Christ a Redeeming God. And Tolstoy did not perceive that "the thing we are redeemed from is not chiefly ignorance or pain, but guilt". Mr. Harold Begbie's *"Twice-Born Men"* are in no doubt that they have been redeemed from guilt, set right with the Holy God; and their song is not of a *new view,* or set of views, but of a *new life* in Christ Jesus.

In conclusion. It does not lie in our province to fix the point Tolstoy reached in his upward striving. But no one acquainted with his life, his opinions, the range and depth of his interset and his teachings will deny him a place among the sages, and some will even give him a place among the saints. His discovery of the vanity of the worldly life, of the line of usefulness in loving service, and his loyalty to the light as far as he saw it, go far towards overbalancing his marked limitations. When looked at from the point of view of a Christian interpretation of life, the central difficulty presented by his career is this: Granting his willingness to do the will of God (John 7:17), how account for his failure to see the full meaning of the religion of the Incarnation?

(50) Ibid: Vol. II: p. 653.

Truth in the form of Law came by Moses, Confucius, Lao Tse, Buddha. Truth in the form of Grace came by Jesus Christ. And a man who is willing to do the truth he knows is surely in the way of knowing all truth.

The merely inquisitive mind is sure to ask: Was Tolstoy "saved"? To which the proper and only reply is:

"Will not the Judge of All the Earth do right".

# THE PRIESTLY ELEMENT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BY LESTER REDDIN, B.D., CHESTER, PA.

The personal attitude of Christ toward the temple and its priesthood may be defined as that of a loyal Jew. To Him the temple was the house of His Father (John 2:16); to be in company with those in attendance there was to be "among those of His Father" (ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου Luke 2:49). He makes no apology for exercising His divine prerogative in healing lepers and restoring them to their places in their families and in society, but, as soon as they are healed, He commands them to go and show themselves to the priests and there offer the gifts which Moses commanded (Matt. 8:4; Mk. 1:44; Lk. 5:14; 17:14). He assumes that His disciples will habitually bring gifts to the altar, and only admonishes them to be reconciled to the offended brother before such gifts are offered (Matt. 5:23, 24). But He lived in a period of transition when the old regime had already become antiquated and the new was about to be ushered in. And, notwithstanding His loyalty to the old, we find frequent allusions in His teaching to the near approach of the new and its pre-eminence over the old. In His conversation with the Samaritan woman concerning the superiority of the claims of the Jerusalem temple over those of the Samaritan temple, He asserts that the hour has come when both Moriah and Gerizim must relinquish their claims to peculiar sanctity, for the necessity for temple worship is about to be done away with; a new and better way of approach unto God is about to be opened up. Also in the words of institution of His Memorial Supper, "This is my blood of the New Covenant", He makes the former Covenant old (cf. Heb. 8:13), and implies that the New is about to be sealed with His own blood.

The first covenant had "ordinances of worship and its sanctuary" (cf. Heb. 9:1), and a regularly ordained priest-

hood. To this priesthood belonged certain privileges and prerogatives which a "stranger" dares not assume (Num. 3:10; 18:7.) Only the priests could offer sacrifices (Lev. 1:9-12, 15-17; Ex. 30:20) and burn incense (Ex. 30:7ff; Num. 16:40) before Jehovah, or even come within the altar inclosure (Num. 18:7). To the priests was committed the care of the table of the shewbread (Lev. 24:8), and they alone might lawfully partake thereof (Ex. 29:32; Lev. 8:31; cf. Matt. 12:4). The priests alone might pronounce the benediction on the people (Num. 6:22). They had to guard the distinction between the sacred and the profane, between the clean and the unclean (Lev. 10:10), and pronounce upon the presence and cure of leprosy (Lev. 13). In Christ's commission to those who were to be the ministers of the New Covenant, He commands them to cast out unclean spirits, to heal diseases, to preach the gospel, and to baptize in the name of the Trinity, but nowhere does He bestow upon them any distinctive priestly prerogative. When, under the guidance of the Spirit of truth, His apostles entered upon that work to which He had appointed them, there is no indication, either from their words or actions, that they understood any priestly prerogative to belong to them by virtue of their apostolic office.

But the New Testament makes distinct recognition of a priesthood belonging to the New Economy. Christianity has been defined as "Theism plus mediation."[1] Christ is the "High Priest of our profession". Although it is only in the Epistle to the Hebrews that the word priest ( ἱερεύς ) is applied to Christ, other New Testament writers express the same idea in different terminology. To John He is our "advocate ( παράκλητος ) with the Father" (John 2:1); to Paul He is the "one Mediator ( μεσίτης ) between God and men" (I Tim. 2:5), the one through whom the world is reconciled unto God (II Cor. 5:19; cf. Eph. 2:16), the one who "maketh intercession for us" at the right hand of God (Rom. 8:34). The author of Hebrews takes up the subject of Christ's priesthood and

[1]See Adeney, Article, "Mediation" in Hastings' D. B.

works it out in all its implications. Indeed, this is the leading idea in the doctrinal portion of his epistle. Moses, Aaron, and Melchizedek are introduced only to show the personal excellency of the Son and His pre-eminence in office. The following points of superiority in the priesthood of Christ are emphasized by our author:

1. *The Manner of His Appointment.* He did not inherit His priesthood by virtue of His tribal connection as did the sons of Levi, for "it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Juda, of which tribe Moses spoke nothing concerning priesthood" (7:14); but He who confers appointments to position in His Kingdom on the basis of fitness (cf. Matt. 20:21-23), appointed His Son as priest after the order of Melchizedek. Aaron and his sons were inducted into office according to a prescribed ritual, but Christ was made a priest by the oath of Him who said: "The Lord swore and will not repent, 'Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek'" (7:21).

2. *The Perpetuity of His Office.* The Aaronic priests "were forbidden by death to continue, but He, because He abides forever, has His priesthood inalienable" (7:23, 24). This perpetuity in office is the guarantee of ultimate salvation to all those who come to God through Him "Since He ever lives to intercede for them."

3. *The Nature of His Sacrifice.* "Every High Priest is appointed to offer both gifts and sacrifices; wherefore it is necessary that this one also have something which He may offer" (8:3). The Aaronic priests were continually offering sacrifices "unable to perfect the worshiper as to the conscience" (9:9, 10:1-4), but serving rather as a reminder of sin. "Without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sins" (9:22), but this blood must be more efficacious than the blood of bulls and goats which can never take away sins (10:4). Christ as High Priest, being under necessity of offering a sacrifice, and that one which could take away sin, made an offering of Himself (7:27), without blemish to God (9:14), entering "through

the greater and more perfect tabernacle through His own blood.....obtaining eternal redemption" (9:11, 12).

The interpretation of the death of Christ as a sacrifice for sin is not peculiar to this epistle, but it is found imbedded in each of the three important types of apostolic teaching, namely the Pauline, the Petrine, and the Johannine. According to Paul (Eph. 5:2) Christ gave Himself as an offering and a sacrifice to God for an odor of sweet smell; according to Peter (I Pet. 1:18, 19) He is the [sacrificial] "lamb without blemish and without spot" whose blood rather than silver and gold redeems from sin (cf. 3:18); according to John it is the blood of Christ that cleanses from all sins (I John 1:7).

4. *The Finality of His Sacrifice.* The incomparable worth of such a sacrifice eliminates the necessity of a repetition of the offering. "But now once for all at the end of the ages, He has been manifested to put away sin through the sacrifice of Himself" (9:26). This furthermore denies the possibility of a "continuation" or an "extension" of the sacrifice of Christ through consecrated bread and wine.

But the sacrificial is not the only aspect of Christ's priestly work. Equally important is His work of intercession. He has entered into Heaven itself "to appear in the presence of God for us" (Heb. 9:24; cf. Rom. 8:34; I John 2:1), where He ever lives to intercede for His people. No more than His sacrifice does His intercession need to be supplemented by the office of another. He is the one Mediator betwen God and men (I Tim. 2:5). There is, therefore, no necessity for a "Blessed Virgin" to make intercession before the Heavenly Father on behalf of her spiritual children, or for glorified saints to intercede for the saints on earth, or for a human priest to stand before the altar to present the cause of his people before a God who could not be approached by His believing children without such mediation. It may be that the Scripture language does not demand, possibly does not warrant, the inference that Christ stands incessantly making petitions for His saints all and each, or endorsing to the Heavenly Father

the various prayers which are incessantly offered in His name, or perpetually calling to the Father's notice the sacrifice which He made once for all on Calvary, yet His intercession is equivalent to all this.

But the foregoing does not exhaust the New Testament teaching concerning priesthood. The doctrine of the priesthood of all believers which was guaranteed a place in Protestant theology by the emphasis placed upon it by the Reformers, especially Martin Luther, far antedates the Reformation. It is clearly a New Testament teaching. Although it is hinted at elsewhere in the New Testament, it is only in the Petrine epistles, *i.e.*, I Peter and Hebrews[2] that the doctrine is clearly enunciated. "Ye yourselves also, as living stones, are being built up a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ" (I Peter 2:5). "Through Him, therefore, let us offer up a sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of lips that give thanks to His name. But to do good and to distribute forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased" (Heb. 13:15, 16). In Romans 12:1 Paul speaks of one's "rational service" as "a living sacrifice", but the verb of presentation (παρίστημι) which he uses in this connection is never used, either in the Septuagint or in the New Testament, of a priestly act. In The Book of Revelation (1:6; 5:10; 20:6) believers are called "priests unto God", but their specific functions as such are not there defined. It is noteworthy then, that this glorious dcotrine of an universal priesthood of believers should have first been promulgated by him who is reputed to be the ancestral head of that organized hierarchy which to-day claims authority to grant absolution from sin, to excommunicate from the church, and, consequently, from Heaven, to deliver souls from purgatory, to change bread and wine into the veritable body and blood of Christ and through

[2]It is the opinion of the present writer that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by the Apostle Peter. It does not fall within the scope of this paper, however, to give the argument in favor of this view.

the mass to make a continuation of the sacrifice of Christ.

But whence arises the necessity of such a priesthood? If perfection is brought about by one priesthood, what necessity is there that another should arise? (cf. Heb. 7:11.) If Christ's self-sacrifice was the final offering for sin, and He is the only Mediator between God and men, what need is there for a priesthood of believers? These questions can best be answered by first considering on whose behalf the priest-believer exercises his unique office, and what is the nature of his priestly service. If all believers are alike priests unto God, it seems superfluous that one believer should exercise his office on behalf of others who are priests equally with himself. It is true that prayer is recognized as a means of securing blessing when offered by Christians on behalf of their brethren (I Thes. 5:25; II Thes. 3:1; Jas. 5:16), but this is quite different from the idea involved in the priesthood of believers. On the other hand, if Christians are a "royal priesthood" mediating between God and the unbelieving world, then Christ is no longer the only Mediator between God and men. It appears, then, that each believer is a priest unto God on his own behalf; and just as there are seen to be two aspects of the priestly work of Christ —the sacrificial and the intercessory—there may be said to be two aspects of the believer's priesthood—the aspect of privilege and the aspect of duty. When viewed in its aspect of privilege the believer's priesthood involves the right to come "boldly" and with "a true heart in fulness of faith", through the "new and living way" which Christ "instituted for us" by His own blood to the throne of grace that we may receive mercy and find grace for well-timed help (Heb. 5:16; 10:19-22). When viewed in its aspect of duty it involves the offering up of "spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ"; not sacrifices for sin, but the sacrifices of daily service.

Of the various schemes of classification of the Old Testament sacrifices, as satisfactory as any would be the following:

1. The whole burnt offering of entire self-dedication.

2. The sin offering (described in Lev. 6:24ff.) and trespass (Lev. 7:1-10) or guilt offering.

3. Peace offering (Lev. 7:11), including thank-offerings, votive offerings, free-will offerings. The sacrifices of Christian service are most analogous to this third class. The sin-offering took logical precedence over the other two classes, as no one could offer a burnt-offering or a peace-offering until he had first purged himself from sin by the sin-offering. In like manner the individual must first personally appropriate the benefits of the one sacrifice for sin made by our great High Priest on Calvary before he can offer "spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ". The apostle in defining the spiritual sacrifices speaks first of the "sacrifice of praise", which is "the fruit of lips that give thanks to His name"( Heb. 13:15). Surely this "fruit of lips" comprehends far more than the songs of praise which the Christian is admonished to sing (Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16; James 5:13). Does it not include *all* the service which we may render with the lips, our words of testimony concerning God's holiness and love which we address to our fellow-men, as well as our words of praise and thanksgiving directed to the Heavenly Father Himself? The apostle furthermore speaks of our duty to our fellow men, *i. e.,* doing good and distributing (Heb. 13:16), as sacrifices with which God is well pleased. So, then, we may conclude with Forsyth that "the whole sphere of Christian action is a spiritual sacrifice".

# HAWHORTNE'S IMMITIGABLE.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN PHELPS FRUIT, PH.D., LIBERTY, MO.

The reiterated *immitigable* is the key to the informing sense of Hawthorne's thought. It is traceable mainly to his early interest in Rousseau, *The Newgate Calendar,* and Bunyan. To the tinker is due his bent to allegory, thence to his prose form of literary art, the Romance.

In the *Maypole of Merry Mount,* Endicott is styled the *immitigable* zealot, the severest Puritan of all who laid the rock foundation of New England.

"He lifted the wreath of roses from the ruin of the Maypole, and threw it, with his own gauntleted hand, over the heads of the Lord and Lady of the May."

You would need to read the story again and dwell upon this suggestion regarding the young lovers, ready for the priest to marry them, in order to understand how Endicott's deed was a prophecy.

"No sooner had their hearts glowed with real passion than they were sensible of something vague and unsubstantial in their former pleasures, and felt a dreary presentiment of inevitable change. From the moment that they truly loved, they had subjected themselves to earth's doom of care and sorrow, and troubled joy, and had no more a home at Merry Mount."

Again:

"As the moral gloom of the world overpowers all systematic gayety, even so was their home of wild mirth made desolate amid the sad forest. They returned to it no more. But as their flowery garland was wreathed of the brightest roses that had grown there, so, in the tie that united them, were intertwined all the purest and best of their early joys."

And this, in brief, is the circle of Hawthorne's thought, wherein is distinguishable the Providence of the *immitigable.*

There was Eden, where "May or her mirthful spirit, dwelt all the year round at Merry Mount, sporting with the Summer's months, and revelling with Autumn, and basking in the glow of Winter's fireside."

"O, people of the Golden Age, the chief of your husbandry was to raise flowers!"

And next came the trail of the serpent, and then the "Statlier Eden."

In an early sketch entitled *Snowflakes,* he puts it in this way:

"Cold Winter has begun his reign already! Now, throughout New England each hearth becomes an altar, sending up the smoke of a continual sacrifice to the *immitigable* deity who tyrranizes over forest, countryside and town. Wrapped in his white mantle, his staff a huge icicle, his beard and hair a wind-tossed snow-drift, he travels over the land, in the midst of the northern blast; and woe to the harmless wanderer whom he finds upon his path! There he lies stark and stiff a human shape of ice, on the spot where Winter overtook him. On strides the tyrant over the rushing rivers and broad lakes, which turn to rock beneath his footsteps. His dreary empire is established; all around stretches the desolation of the Pole. Yet not ungrateful be his New England children—for Winter is our sire though a stern and rough one—not ungrateful even for the severities which have nourished our unyielding strength of character.

"And let us thank him, too, for the sleigh-rides, cheered by the music of the merry bells—for the cracking and rustling hearth, when the ruddy firelight gleams on hardy manhood and the blooming cheek of woman—for all the home enjoyments and kindred virtues, which flourish in a frozen soil."

Writing to Sophia Peabody, his betrothed, in September, 1841, from Brook Farm, with regard to some plan for issuing the *Grandfather's Chair* Series with illustrations from her pencil—she had illustrated the *Gentle Boy* in 1839—he suggested this for a task:

"Master Cheever is a very good subject for a sketch, es-

pecially if he is portrayed in the very act of executing judgment on an evil-doer. The little urchin may be laid across his knee, and his arms and legs, and whole person indeed, should be flying all abroad, in an agony of nervous excitement and corporal smart. The Master, on the other hand, must be calm, rigid, without anger or pity, the very personification of that *immitigable* law whereby suffering follows sin. Meantime the lion's head should have a sort of sly twist on one side of its mouth, and a wink of one eye, in order to give the impression that, after all, the crime and the punishment are neither of them the most serious thing in the world. I could draw the sketch myself, if I had but the use of——'s magic fingers."

In *The House of the Seven Gables,* there is Col. Pyncheon's picture with those stern, *immitigable* features symbolizing an evil influence, and mingling darkly their shadows with the sunshine of the passing hour.

When the inevitable moment is at hand for opening the little shop, and Miss Hepsibah has fled into the inner parlor, and flung herself into the ancestral elbow chair, and is weeping, Hawthorne comments in these words:

"How can we elevate our history of retribution for the sin of long ago, when, as one of our most prominent figures, we are compelled to introduce—not a young and lovely woman, nor even the stately remains of beauty, storm-shattered by affliction—but a gaunt, sallow, rusty-jointed maiden, in a long-waisted silk gown, and with the strange horror of a turban on her head.....Nevertheless, if we look through all the heroic fortunes of mankind, we shall find this same entanglement of something mean and trivial with whatsoever is noblest in joy or sorrow. Life is made up of marble and mud. And, without all the deeper trust in a comprehensive sympathy above us, we might hence be led to suspect the insult of a sneer, as well as an immitigable frown, on the iron countenance of fate." He then adds significantly:

"What is called poetic insight is the gift of discerning, in this sphere of strangely mingled elements, the beauty and

the majesty which are compelled to assume a garb so sordid."

Judge Pyncheon's face is thus described:

"It was quite striking, allowing for the difference of scale, as that betwixt a landscape under a broad sunshine and just before a thunder-storm; not that it had the passionate intensity of the latter aspect, but was cold, hard, *immitigable,* like a day-long brooding cloud."

Picturing the Past as stretched out upon the Present like a giant's dead body, Holgrave says:

"A dead man sits on all our judgment seats; and living judges do but search out and repeat his decisions: We read in dead men's books! We laugh at dead men's jokes, and cry at dead men's pathos!....Turn our eyes to what point we may, a dead man's white, *immitigable* face encounters them, and freezes our very heart!"

When Judge Pyncheon felt Miss Hepsibah's wrath poured out in words irrevocably spoken, "his look assumed sternness, the sense of power, and *immitigable* resolve; and this so natural and imperceptible a change, that it seemed as if the iron man had stood there from the first, and the meek man not at all."

"Just as there comes a warm sunbeam into every cottage window, so comes a love-beam of God's care and pity for every separate need."

Miss Hepzibah realized this at last, but not until Clifford, pointing to the room where Judge Pyncheon sat "in the hard composure of his temperament", said:

"The weight is gone, Hepzibah! It is gone off this weary old world, and we may be as light-hearted as little Phoebe herself!"

The stern and pitiless Minos bent his shaggy brows upon the poor Athenian victims:

"Any other mortal beholding their fresh and tender and their innocent looks, would have felt himself sitting on thorns until he had made every soul of them happy, by bidding them go free as the summer wind. But this *immitigable* Minos

cared only to examine whether they were plump enough to satisfy the Minotaur's appetite."

But, near his throne stood the beautiful and tender-hearted Ariadne, his daughter, who "really wept at the idea of how much human happiness would be needlessly thrown away, by giving so many young people, in the first bloom and rose blossom of their lives, to be eaten up by a creature who, no doubt, would have preferred a fat ox, or even a large pig, to the plumpest of them."

Wherefore their rescue.

In the *Blithesdale Romance,* Hollingsworth is one of those who surrender themselves to an overruling purpose, and who have "no heart, no sympathy, no reason, no conscience."

"They have an idol to which they consecrate themselves high-priest, and deem it holy work to offer sacrifices of whatever is most precious; and never once seem to suspect—so cunning has the Devil been with them—that this false deity, in whose iron features, *immitigable* to all the rest of mankind, they see only benignity and love, is but a spectrum of the very priest himself, projected upon the surrounding darkness."

Hawthorne describes the horror of the spectacle of the rigid limbs of Zenobia recovered from her watery grave:

"She was the marble image of a death-agony. Her arms had grown rigid in the act of struggling, and were bent before her with clenched hands; her knees, too, were bent, and—thank God for it!—in the attitude of prayer.....One hope I had, and that too was mingled half with fear. She knelt as if in prayer. With the last choking consciousness, her soul bubbling out through her lips, it may be, had given itself up to the Father, reconciled and penitent. But her arms! They were bent before her, as if she struggled against Providence in never-ending hostility. Her hands! They were clenched in *immitigable* defiance."

When Miriam realized that the heart of Donatello was sending out its tendrils to her blighted soul, it was:

"Then first she became sensible of a delight and grief at once, in feeling this zephyr of a new affection, with its un-

tainted freshness, blow over her weary, stifled heart, which had no right to be revived by it. The very exquisiteness of the enjoyment made her know that it ought to be a forbidden one.

" 'Donatello,' she hastily exclaimed, 'for your own sake, leave me! It is not such a happy thing as you imagine it, to wander in these woods with me, a girl from another land, burdened with a doom that she tells to none. I might make you dread me,—perhaps hate me,—if I chose; and I must choose, if I find you loving me too well!'

" 'I fear nothing!' said Donatello, looking into her unfathomable eyes with perfect trust. 'I love always!' "

Miriam saw that she spoke in vain so concluded:

" 'Well, then, for this one hour, let me be such as he imagines me. Tomorrow will be time enough to come back to my reality. My reality! What is it? Is the past so indestructible? the future so *immitigable?* Is the dark dream in which I walk, of such solid, stony substance, that there can be no escape out of its dungeon? Be it so! There is, at least, that ethereal quality in my spirit, that it can make me as gay as Donatello himself,—for this one hour!' "

The insoluble riddle of her future was soon thereafter propounded to her anew, in an interview with the model, who protested they had a destiny which they must needs fulfil together.

"I, too," he said, "have struggled to escape it. I was as anxious as yourself to break the tie between us,—to bury the past in a fathomless grave,—to make it impossible that we should ever meet until you confront me at the bar of Judgment! You little can imagine what steps I took to render all this secure; and what was the result? Our strange interview in the bowels of the earth convinced me of the futility of my design."

Miriam in an outburst of passion cried:

"O that we could have wandered in those dismal passages till we both perished, taking opposite paths in the darkness,

so that when we lay down to die, our last breaths might not mingle!"

"It were vain to wish it," said the model. "In all the labyrinth of the midnight paths, we should have found one another out to live or to die together."

And when he insisted that they were bound together and could never part again, she replied:

"Think how I escaped from all the past! I had made for myself a new sphere, and found new friends, new occupations, new hopes and enjoyments. My heart, methinks, was almost unburdened as if there had been no miserable life behind me.....Let us keep asunder, and all may go well for both."

"Never!" said he, with *immitigable* will; "your reappearance has destroyed the work of years."

The interview of Hester Prynne with Old Roger Chilligsworth relative to the sin she is expiating, is more explicit as to the nature of sin and the dark necessity of its retribution.

"Hester," he said, "I ask not wherefore nor how, thou hast fallen into the pit, or say, rather, thou hast ascended to the pedestal of infamy, on which I found thee. The reason is not far to seek. It was my folly and thy weakness, I,—a man of thought,—the bookworm of great libraries,—a man already in decay, having given my best years to feed the hungry dream of knowledge,—what had I to do with youth and beauty like thine own! Misshapen from my birth hour, how could I delude myself with the idea that intellectual gifts might veil physical deformity in a young girl's fantasy! ....Nay, from the moment when we came down the old church steps together, a married pair, I might have beheld the bale-fire of that scarlet letter blazing at the end of our path!"

When she murmured that she had greatly wronged him, he answered:

"We have wronged each other. Mine was the first wrong, when I betrayed thy budding youth into a false and unnatural relation with my decay."

Afterwards explaining why it is not granted to him to pardon, he says:

"My old faith, long forgotten, comes back to me, and explains all that we do and all that we suffer. By thy first step awry thou didst plant the germ of evil; but since that moment, it has all been a dark necessity. Ye that have wronged me are not sinful, save in a kind of a typical illusion; neither am I fiend-like, who have snatched a fiend's office from his hands. It is our fate."

Hawthorne's illustrious daughter, Rose, comprehended her father's innermost thought and used this key-word to characterize it. In the General Introduction written for the Old Manse Edition of his Works, she writes:

"His *immitigable* thought, which had contrived intricate sorrows from the truths of character itself, was now to end its strength in witnessing the most abnormal complication his country could devise. As it were, the struggle of two brothers, trying to exterminate each other, both right, both noble of soul, bound by holy promises never to break fealty, now tearing blood from each other's veins, in the smoke of a broken compact severed by Sumter's gun; sad, heavy note, that can still make Americans shudder,—sounding alone, and followed by a silence of awe, and years of carnage. Subtle destiny could form no harsher plot than this, nor embrace higher flights of principle nor end with a richer result."

His deeply pondered thought "this one burden bore." The antecedents of it are not far to seek.

Before he was fourteen, his genius had been nourished on Shakespeare, Milton, Rousseau, *The Newgate Calendar,* and Bunyan.

To Rousseau he was largely indebted for his interset in unsophisticated human nature: Emile is the child of Nature, a veritable figure of romance.

To the *Calendar,* which was his daily diet, is due his vivid realizations of the fall of man into sin and crime. And coming in pat with this is *Paradise Lost,* the epic of the Fall. Bunyan must be credited with his note of hope in a superin-

tending Providence: *The Pilgrim's Progress* is the story of a journey from the City of Destruction to a light that shined from afar .

A sketch like *Little Annie's Rambles* mirrors Rousseau in his conception of the innocence and perfect goodness of the child, calling for an education till the twelfth year, that is negative, simply letting nature have her way, but guarding the child from the shock of opinions, and building a wall of defense about his soul, and making sure against every exterior influence that would hinder the free development of his powers.

When Little Annie hears the town crier telling the people of the show that has come to town, "she feels the impulse to go strolling away—longing after the mystery of the great world," and seizes the hand of a grown-up—the moralist—to make a ramble with him. "She is not afraid, but passes on with fearless confidence, a happy child amidst a great throng of grown people."

After she has gone the round of the wonders with her guide they hear the town crier again, announcing that a little girl has strayed away from home.

"Stop, stop, town crier! The lost is found. O, my pretty Annie, we forgot to tell your mother of our ramble, and she is in despair, and has sent the town crier to bellow up and down the streets, affrighting old and young, for the loss of a little girl who has not once let go my hand! Well, let us hasten homeward; and as we go, forget not to thank Heaven, my Annie, that, after wandering a little way into the world, you may return at the first summons, with an untainted and unwearied heart, and be a happy child again."

"But," her guide says significantly, "I have gone too far astray for the town crier to call me back."

It is not, however, the hopeless despair of Poe in *The Conqueror Worm,* where

> "An angel throng, bewinged, bedight
> In veils, and drowned in tears,
> Sit in a theatre to see
> A play of hopes and fears,

and,

"That motley drama—oh, to be sure
It shall not be forgot!
With its Phantom chased for evermore
By a crowd that seize it not,
Through a circle that ever returneth in
To the self-same spot;
And much of the Madness, and more of Sin,
And Horror the soul of the plot.

The angels affirm,

"That the play is the tragedy 'Man',
And its hero, the Conqueror Worm."

The moral of the fantasy of *David Swan* is that, while viewless and unexpected events thrust themselves continually athwart our path, there is still regularity enough in mortal life to render foresight even partially available, arguing a superintending Providence.

But, where the Worm is conqueror there can be, for man, no hero, and no Romance.

Hawthorne's attitude is that of a spectator:

"It resembled that of the Chorus in a classic play, which seems to be set aloof from the possibility of personal concernment, and bestows the whole measure of its hope or fear, its exultation or sorrow, on the fortunes of others, between whom and itself this sympathy is the only bond."

Dilating further upon this thought, he says:

"Destiny, it may be,—the most skilful of stage managers,—seldom chooses to arrange its scenes, and carry forward its drama, without securing the presence of at least one calm observer. It is his office to give applause when due, and sometimes an inevitable tear, to detect the final fitness of incident to character, and distill in his long-brooding thought the whole morality of the performance."

He wanted it understood that he was no realist, after the common acceptation of the term.

"I have appealed," he says, "to no sentiment or sensibili-

ties save such as are diffused among us all. So far as I am a man of really individual attributes I veil my face; nor am I, nor have I ever been, one of those supremely hospitable people who serve up their own hearts delicately fried, with brain sauce, as a tidbit for their beloved public."

This places him logically in the category of the allegorist. In the introduction to *Rappaccini's Daughter,* accrediting the work to M. de l'Aubépine, Hawthorne speaks of his unfortunate position between the Transcendentalists, on the one hand, and that other great body of pen-and-ink men who address the intellect and the sympathies of the multitude; and says that his writings might have won him greater reputation but for an inveterate love of allegory, which is apt to invest his plots and characters with the aspect of scenery and people in the clouds, and to steal away the human warmth out of his conceptions, and then adds:

"In any case he generally contents himself with a slight embroidery of outward manners,—the faintest possible counterfeit of real life,—and endeavors to create an interest by some less obvious peculiarity of the subject."

His stories are constructed without the support of incidents or motives; he eschewed the usual accessories of a novel.

He painted souls more than bodies, as if he were heeding some such admonition as,

> "Your business is not to catch men with show,
> With homage to the perishable clay,
> But lift them over it, ignore it all,
> Make them forget there's such a thing as flesh.
> Your business is to paint the souls of men—
>
> Give us no more of body than shows soul!
>
> Paint the soul, never mind the legs and arms!"

He relentlessly tears away the mask of even our every-day conventional human life, and reveals its innermost depths in painful clearness of delineation.

The stern Puritan in him—he was a Puritan who did not

go to church—compelled him to strip off the outward show which human nature wears, to be seen of men, in order to lay bare the maladies of the soul which are the sources of the sum and substance of Hawthorne's allegory.

Hawthorne is the peerless analyst of the soul.

His characters are not individuals but types. Instead of representing real life, they symbolize life. In fact they are symbolized sentiments rather than symbolized logic. This is sum and substance of Hawthorne's allegory.

But when his art reached to the marvel of creating an atmosphere in which these phantoms could live, his allegory became Romance.

Observe how Hawthorne himself felt this. In his preface to *The House of the Seven Gables,* distinguishing his work as a Romance from the Novel, he says:

"As a work of art, it must rigidly subject itself to laws, and while it sins unpardonably so far as it may swerve aside from the truth of the human heart—it has fairly a right to present that truth under circumstances, to a great extent, of the writer's own choosing or creation. If he think fit, also, he may so manage his atmospherical medium as to bring out or mellow the lights and deepen and enrich the shadows of the picture. He will be wise, no doubt, to make a very moderate use of the privileges here stated, and, especially, to mingle the marvelous rather as a slight, delicate, and evanescent flavor, than as any portion of the actual substance of the dish offered to the public."

The casual reader, though not critically conscious, is yet aware of a subtle charm diffused over the background of natural scenery, creating a kind of fairy realm in which his figures, as heroes and heroines, live and move.

What a marvelous world that is in which Arthur Dimmesdale, Hester Prynne, and little Pearl move! And yet it is not so far away, but we could travel thither in a day.

Who that has read *The Scarlet Letter* has not canonized Hester Prynne! That career from budding youth, through

sin and the discipline of the red-hot iron of truth, to saint-hood, is heroic!

Not more wonderful as a work of Art, but more suggestive as to the genesis of sin is the *Marble Faun*.

Beginning with the unsophisticated man, Donatello, we find him after his sin, "haunted with a strange remorse, and an *unmitigable* resolve to obtain what he deemed justice upon himself"; then this comment by Miriam to Kenyon:

"So changed, yet still, in a deeper sense, so much the same! He has travelled in a circle, as all things heavenly and earthly do, and now comes back to his original self, with an inestimable treasure of improvement won from an experience of pain."

"The story of the fall of man! Is it not repeated in our romance of Monte Beni?"

One can believe that Hawthorne learned more for his art, and none the less for the substance of his art, from Shakespeare than from all others upon whom his genius was nourished. He found there an etherealized atmosphere pervading natural scenery and lending idealized effects to the various situations. One conspicuous instance must have engaged him, particularly, *The Tempest*. There is the unconventional world; and Miranda, the child of Nature; and Providence in the person of Prospero; and Caliban and Ariel, antipodal creatures of the enchanted realm.

Even gross Caliban appreciates that,

"—— the isle is full of noises, sounds and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not."

Into the foreground is fetched the conventional world with its selfishness and sin, and reconciliation and restoration and the dramatic romance.

One may believe that Hawthorne got his key-word from *The Tempest*. In the quarrel between Prospero and Ariel, Prospero reminds Ariel that the Witch Sycorax did confine him,

> "By help of her more potent ministers
> And in her most *unmitigable* rage,
> Into a cloven pine."

# THE LETTERS AND EPISTLES OF PAUL.

BY A. J. DICKINSON, M.A., D.D., BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Deissman draws a distinction between letters and epistles. "What is a letter? A letter is something non-literary, a means of communication between persons who are separated from each other. Confidential and personal in its nature, it is intended for only the person or persons to whom it is addressed, and not at all for the public or any kind of publicity. There is no essential difference between a letter and an oral dialogue, and it has been not unfairly called a conversation halved. It concerns nobody but the person who wrote it and the person who opens it. From all others it is meant to be kept secret. What is an epistle? The epistle is an artistic literary form, a species of literature, just like the dialogue, the oration or the drama. It has nothing in common with the letter but its form; apart from that one may venture the paradox that the epistle is the opposite of the letter. The contents of an epistle are intended for publicity —they aim at interesting 'the public'. Everyone may read it and is expected to read it. The main features in the letter become in the epistle mere external ornament, intended to keep up the illusion of 'epistolary' form. Most epistles are intelligible without knowing the addressee and the author. The epistle differs from the letter as the dialogue from the conversation, as the historical drama does from history, as the carefully turned funeral oration does from the halting words of consolation spoken by a father to his motherless child—as art differs from nature. The letter is a piece of life, the epistle is a product of art. The letters of Paul are not literary; they are real letters, not epistles; they were written by Paul not for the public and posterity, but for the persons to whom they were addressed. The two Epistles to the Corinthians that have come down to us belong to the

group of real letters. What is it that makes the second Epistle so extremely unintelligible to many people? Simply the fact that it is out and out a letter, full of allusions which we for the most part no longer fully understand. What was originally non-literary has by subsequent development become literary. Paul was not a writer of epistles, but of letters: he was not a literary man. His letters were raised to the dignity of literature afterwards, when the piety of the church collected them, multiplied them by copying and so made them accessible to the whole of Christendom. Later still they became sacred literature, when they were received among the books of the 'New' Testament then in process of formation; and in this position their literary influence has been immeasurable. But all the subsequent experiences cannot change the original character of Paul's letters". (See "Light from the Ancient East", p. 218 ff).

That the Epistles of Paul possess as we have them all the characteristics of real letters, as above stated by Deissmann, the facts in them abundantly testify; and that they have also been raised to the dignity of epistles is equally well founded in the facts. The truth is we have here writings which are at one and the same time letters and epistles, and it is the task of the literary critic to discover how this came about. The theory advanced by Deissmann, that the church subsequently raised the letters to the dignity of epistles, will not bear the light of the facts as they are discovered from the writings; and in lieu thereof I would suggest the following: The Epistles as we have them are not single letters, but collections of letters written along from time to time by the apostle as occasions called for them. These letters the churches receiving them preserved after the immediate occasion that solicited them had passed away; and they found them helpful in the culture of the Messianic life, and cherished them on that account. Possibly also the apostle himself kept a letter-book containing copies of his important letters from time to time, such as we know were in use by three papyrus fragments containing copies of letters sent or letters received. See Deiss-

mann, p. 227. Possibly it is to theses letter-books that reference is made in II. Tim. 4:13. Thus two collections of the letters grew up, one in the several churches as they received them and one in the letter-books of the apostle. Upon visiting these churches at some later period the apostle found them using and cherishing his letters, reading them in the public worship; and he then epistolized them to function the better in that office. This would also be the more necessary since the originals in many cases would have become soiled, broken and worn by use, and in need of being transfered from the letter-papyrus to the more enduring and convenient parchment. Possibly also at this time they were published by having the scribe make several copies for such members of the church as might wish to possess one. So I suggest that the theory of Deissmann be amended as above; for it seems to me that the facts testify that the apostle epistolized his own letters for the purpose of making them Scripture to function canonically in the life of the church. In this article we shall test this theory by a study of the Corinthian correspondence; but it is equally applicable to any of the other Epistles of the New Testament.

The American Revisers have recognized that there are points in the Epistles to the Corinthians where patent breaks in the context are to be observed, and have marked these points by a break in the text. Such breaks in the text are found in that Version at 1:10; 4:21; 6:20; 7:40, etc. But it is clear that similar breaks should also be made at I. Cor. 8:13 and 9:27, separating the 9th chapter from what goes before and what comes after; and similar breaks should be given at II. Cor. 6:13 and 7:1, since that section has clearly no connection either with what precedes or follows. Admitting these two additional sections, we have the Epistles divided by these breaks into fourteen sections as follows: I. 1:10-4:21; 5-6; 7; 8; 9; 10; 11; 12-14; 15; 16:1-9, 15-18; II. 1:3-6:13; 7:2-16; 6:14-7:1; 8-9; 10-13. The introductions and conclusions are best reserved for later study. Now the theory is that each of these sections originally constituted a separate

and distinct letter, written on a separate occasion, addressed to a different situation, with a distinct purpose; so that instead of just two letters written by the apostle to the church at Corinth we have fourteen penned along from time to time in the course of a correspondence, and subsequently collected into two collections according as Sosthenes or Timothy was the apostle's associate in the writing, I. Corinthians being Paul-Sosthenes letters and II. Corinthians being the Paul-Timothy letters. The current view that each of these was from the first a single letter, besides failing to account for the literary and historical phenomena displayed in the references and cross-references has these two insuperable objections. Each of them would imply a complexity of scandals, disorders, schisms and vagaries of beliefs existing in acute form at Corinth at one and the same time such as the world has never presented in any one community at one time before or since. Each of them would also imply that the apostle at Ephesus, in constant communication with the church at Corinth, allowed this acute complexity of disorders to develop to the point of breaking up the church before he put forth reasonable effort to check it; and that, too, when we know that the care of all the churches rested heavily upon him. But if each of these disorders arose and developed in a sequence of unfolding situations, and the apostle addressed a letter to the church as each arose, effectually meeting it, we have a process much more in keeping with the analogy of history, and with the apostle's well known care for the churches.

Following the chronology of Ramsay, the church at Corinth was established Sept. 51-March 53 A. D., Acts 18:1-18. The apostle then visited the East and returned to Ephesus in Oct. 53 A. D., Acts 19:1. He remained in Ephesus until Jan. 56 A.D., Acts 19:2-20:1. He then went on by Troas into Macedonia where he spent the spring and summer collecting funds for the poor saints in Jerusalem; and in Dec. of that year reached Corinth, where he spent the winter of 57 A. D. During these three years in Ephesus and Macedonia he wrote the Corinthian letters Oct. 53-Dec. 56 A.D. During

all this period we may be assured that there was a process going on in the life of the church in Corinth manifesting itself in a series of unfolding situations, and a corresponding response on the part of the apostle in Ephesus; for he was in constant communication with them through the coming and going of messengers and reports and letters. If we shall be able to arrange these fourteen letters in their proper chronological order, we may hope from them to learn to some extent what was the histoy of the church and the biography of the apostle the while. We may hardly expect to find the letters in the two collections in their original chronological order, since other considerations would enter into the order of their compilation.

Viewed from the matters at issue and treated in the several letters we may put the fourteen into five groups: (1). Those dealing with fornication and marriage, II. Cor. 6:14-7:1; I. Cor. 5-6; 7. (2). Those dealing with idolatrous feasts and foods, I. Cor. 8; 10; 11. (3). Those dealing with disorders of worship and beliefs, I. Cor. 12-14; 15. (4). Those dealing with the collection for the saints, I. Cor. 16:1-9, 15-18; II. 8-9. (5). Those dealing with the assault upon his apostolic rights and prerogatives, I. Cor. 9; 1:10-4:21; II. Cor. 10-13; 1:3-6:13, 7:2-16. It is worth noting that the two first of these groups treat of the "necessary things" enjoined by the Jerusalem-council, Acts 15:29, which was the apostle's mission to enforce in the Gentile churches, Acts 16:4. We would therefore expect to find the first letter among those bearing on that matter of church discipline. In 5:9 ff. we find a reference to a previous letter on this subject of fornication, and he mentions it as "my letter", indicating that there was but one received hitherto from him; and so that letter must have been the first one, and 5-6 the second. The letter refered to was one forbidding to have company with fornicators in church fellowship; but they had misunderstood him, and construed it to mean fornicators of this world, I. 5:9 ff. Now just such a letter, or extract from such a letter, is found in II. Cor. 6:14-7:1. This passage means just what the apostle says he meant in this reference; but its language is

open to just the misconstruction the Corinthians put on it. So we conclude that the first letter of the correspondence was II. Cor. 6:14-7:1; and the second was I. Cor. 5-6. In this last there is a reference to the Passover as about to be celebrated, 5:7 ff., and so we may date the writing of this letter just before that season of the year, March 54 A.D.; and the previous letter it was to explain may be dated a couple of months earlier. These two letters very naturally raised in the minds of these Greeks, with their notions of marriage, the question as to its desirability; and so they wrote to him about the propriety of the marriage relation, 7:1. It is in response to this letter of inquiry that he wrote the letter in I. Cor. 7. Allowing time for the sending of the second letter, and for the Corinthians to discuss its meaning and pertinence to their life so as to raise the question about the desirability of marriage, we may date this third letter from the apostle about June 54 A.D. The situation in the first letter is quite general, as is also the apostle's treatment of the subject from the viewpoint of the teachings of the Scriptures unto "the perfecting of holiness in the fear of the Lord", II. Cor. 7:1; but in the second the situation is specific, the incestuous man must be excommunicated, their litigiousness stopped, their indulgences in idol meats wantonly are not expedient, and the Greek unchastity is in the face of the Christian doctrine of the sacredness of the body as the temple of God. We may feel assured that this letter effectually set matters right; for such is implied in what they wrote about the expediency of marriage. Also, we may be assured that the apostle's response in his third letter about the expediency of marriage kept them from the extreme of asceticism on that matter.

The group of letters dealing with idolatrous feasts and foods would naturally follow those above. The subject is already mentioned in the second letter, 6:12 ff, where the apostle writes depreciatingly of the proverb, "meats for belly and belly for meats", as being of no decisive worth in the question at issue. It seems that the letter in chapter 8 was written in response to an inquiry from them, 8:1, and the church

has already divided into two factions over the matter. One faction, "the Strong", claiming superior intellectual discrimination and moral freedom, argued that there was but one God and an idol was nothing; and so the idol sacrifice could have no effect on either the food or the feast. The other faction, "the Weak", could not rise to this mental and moral estate; and so put quite a different construction on the liberal conduct of "the Strong". Such a highly developed situation, implying a set apology by the "Strong", must have taken some time to develop; and so we may put this letter in the summer of 54 A.D. It is worth noticing that the apostle does not argue the case on its merits, although it was one of the "necessary things" in the decree of the Jerusalem-council; but admits of the validity of the argument of the "Strong", and argues with them from grounds of loving expediency. But in the next letter, 10:1-11:1, he argues the question from the ethical and social viewpoint as dangerous to personal morality and piety. This he illustrates from the experience of Israel, who, fresh from a baptism unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea and in spite of the fellowship in the manna and the water from the smitten rock, reverted to idolatrous feasts and foods with its attendant immoralities, and tempted God unto their overthrow. It was indeed a great trial for these Greek Christians to cut themselves off from the society of their heathen friends and kindred, which the abstaining from idolatrous feasts and foods entailed; for in Greek society every social function was in honor of some deity or cult. But God would give them strength and a way of escape from every such trial. So they should flee from idolatry and make the most of their Christian Agape, symbolical as it is of the communion of its participants in the body and blood of Messiah as over against the idol feast symbolical of fellowship with current demonolatry. The point at issue therefore is one of social expediency and church fellowship; and each case ought to be decided according to the principle of the expediency of love. He commends his own example and manner of life to them. This discussion of social morality and custom

as affected by the idolatrous feasts and foods seems to have effectually disposed of the controversy at Corinth. The letter would seem to have been written early in the summer of 54. The next letter, chapter II, opens with an expression of gratification by the apostle for the obedience and loyalty of the church to his apostolic deliverances, 11:2. But a certain immodesty in dress on the part of women taking part in the public worship needs to be corrected; and certain excesses in the Agape leading to drunkenness, so that it was not possible afterwards to celebrate the Lord's Supper, need rebuke. It is patent that these disorders grew out of transferring the customs of the heathen feasts to the Christian Agape, and are the after effects of their participation in the social functions of the Greek religion and its sacrificial feasts. There are other disorders which the apostle promises to set in order by a visit to them. This letter, and the promised visit, may be dated September, 54. That the apostle made the promised visit I think is shown by the fact that in the next letter he seems to be writing from a first-hand knowledge of the situation.

A people converted from dumb idolatry to a religion finding its expression in praying, preaching, prophesying, singing, speaking with tongues would naturally go to all kinds of excesses in these gifts of the Spirit. Some of them affected these prerogatives, and their genuineness must be tested by the way in which they represented Jesus as the Messiah, 12:1-3. So the church at Corinth developed scandalous excesses, making their worship a babel of boisterous speech; and the apostle writes the letter in 12-14 to correct this abuse of the gifts of the Spirit. All gifts are from the same Spirit, to be ministered unto the same Lord, according to the workings of the same God; and so as regards their origin end and manner of operation are equal. But their exercise should be determined by their capacity to be of profit to the church assembled for worship. He then sets forth the church as an organism composed of many different members for mutual service in diversity of ministrations as it hath pleased God to make it. But the one gift, that regulates the profitable

exercise of these several gifts in their ministrations, is love; and hence it is the greatest of all gifts, and necessary to the efficiency of each. This last he sets forth in the psalm in chapter 13, which he had possibly written before for use in public worship and here quotes as pertinent to his purpose. The poetic rhythm and the use of the first person would seem to show some such origin for it. He then sets forth the comparative merits of prophesying and speaking with tongues from the viewpoint of profitableness unto edification of the church, and especially to the unbeliever who may come into the meeting. He advises control of the gifts unto edification, and specially rebukes the boisterousness of the women. He appeals to a prophetic deliverance from the Lord for a vindication of his counsel, and urges all things to be done decently and in order. The situation assumed in the letter is one which would require considerable time to develop, and the letter may be dated in the November of 54, A.D.

In the next letter, chapter 15, the Corinthians are in a controversy over the resurrection of the dead, not however of the resurrection of Christ. Owing to the Greek idea of the essentially evil nature of matter some of them could not believe that there could be a resurrection of dead persons. The apostle shows that this position would deny also the resurrection of Christ as preached to them in the Gospel; and the resurrection of Christ carries with it the resurrection of the dead, just as the first-fruits imply a coming harvest. It is also necessary to the consummation of his Messianic reign. After some exposition of the nature of the risen body, such as Greeks especially would need and a revelation of the mystery of the Parousia, he urges them to be but the more persistent in the work of the Lord since the resurrection makes their work not in vain in the Lord. The situation in Corinth, besides what is involved in the argument, is further revealed in the references in verses 29-34. Some of the Corinthians had died before they received baptism and hence that ordinance had been administered vicariously for them. Denying the resurrection they had naturalized the heathen Epicurean

dictum "let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die"; and by it their good morals had been corrupted from their evil companionships. They should rather quote the Christian dictum, "Awake to righteousness and sin not", as men who have a knowledge of God. In Ephesus the apostle is "in jeopardy every hour" and he "dies daily"; and "after the manner of men he has fought with beasts". But in all this danger of death he has been profited by the hope of the resurrection from the dead. It is evident from these references that the controversy in Corinth was highly developed, and the dangers in Ephesus had grown acute. We may therefore date the letter in the autumn of 55 A.D.

The next group of letters dealing with the collection for the saints,I. Cor. 16:1-9, 15-18, is clearly written in the beginning of that movement in Corinth; for it gives directions how to proceed in that ministration. The second letter, II. Cor. 8-9, was written a year after this movement began in Corinth, 8:10. This second letter was clearly written from Macedonia in the spring of 56 A.D.; and so the first one must have been written from Ephesus in the spring of 55, before Pentecost, 16:9, and was occasioned by a visit to him by Stephanas and two of his slaves, Fortunatus and Achaicus, 16:15-18. These visitors seem to have brought the apostle a contribution, and then dedicated themselves to this work of "ministering unto the saints". The letter was sent by Titus who began the work in Corinth, II. Cor. 8:6. The second letter was also sent by Titus a year later, who, with certain others, were to bring the work to its completion before the apostle's arrival. In this last letter he stirs up their zeal by commending the example of the Macedonian churches in which he was at that time pressing the work.

The next group of letters dealing with an attack on the apostolic standing and authority are given in I. Cor. 9; 1:10-4:21; II. Cor. 10-13; 1:3-6:13, 7:2-16. There is no evidence that these assailers were Judaizers, or that they were working in the interest of any fundamental doctrine; but every reference implies that they were Pharasaic schismatics, seeking to

displace the apostle and his associates in the esteem of the Corinthians for their own selfish purposes. This they hoped to accomplish by depreciating criticisms of them, and glorifying themselves. In the letter in chapter 9 the apostle begins his "defense to them that examine" him, 9:3. It is implied in this defense that his assailants charged that he was not an apostle on par with Peter, the brethren of the Lord and the rest of the apostles, because he did not receive a stated salary to maintain himself as they did, but worked as a common laborer for his living. This proved that he did not have the rights of an apostle. In this letter the apostle's attitude towards his assailants is a calm, complacent, forceful refutation of their impeachment; wherein he shows that he chose to forego his apostolic rights in that regard, that he might not burden those he was anxious to win by his preaching. He probably sent this letter by Timothy, whose mission is referred to in a later letter, I. 4:17 ff, 16:10-12. He would be specially suited for such a delicate mission, since he had been the apostle's co-worker in founding the church. Timothy had hardly had time to arrive in Corinth before some of the slaves of Cloe came bringing further information as to the situation at Corinth; and in response to this the apostle wrote the letter in I. Cor. 1:10-4:21, 16:10-12. The situation is now more highly developed, and the critics have split the church into factions. Some claimed Apollos as their apostle, some Paul, some Cephas and some Christ; and the church was divided into groups of partisans of each, contending about the comparative merits of their respective heroes. The apostle maintains the position taken in the previous letter, that whatever he was to others he was an apostle to them, "for the seal of my apostleship are ye in the Lord", 9:2; and to that end answers their criticisms of his apostolic work. That criticism has now advanced to a second stage, and his preaching is being examined. They charge that he knew nothing but the cross of Christ, which was offensive to the Jews and folly to the Greeks; that he did not preach according to the accepted wisdom of the philosophers, and hence appealed only

to the weak and despised among the people; that he was not a rhetorician with persuasive words of wisdom, though there was an element of rugged spiritual power in his preaching; and therefore such a richly endowed church as Corinth ought to be able to regulate itself without him, 4:6-13. Their method was to criticise Paul, and boast of the superiority of others, especially themselves; and the apostle refers to them as "puffed up", and as "judging others". In the letter he does not deny the facts on which their charges are based, but defends his course as necessary to meet the conditions of pioneer work in laying the foundation of the church. He protests that he ignored Greek Wisdom and Rhetoric purposely that the church might be founded on the Wisdom and Power of God, rather than on that of men. He uses the occasion also to set forth the office and relation of the Christian ministry to the people whom they serve. He is now angered by the stupidity of the Corinthians in listening to these traducers, who in their conceit charge that he will not make the visit promised, in 16:5 ff, and face their charges. He assures them that he will come; and it is for them to determine whether it shall be with a rod or in love and the spirit of gentleness. He has already sent Timothy to set them right according to his ways taught in all the churches, 4:17 ff; and he and the brethren with him have as yet hardly arrived, but when he does come he should be received without despite, 16:10-11. He also besought Apollos to go with Timothy and his companions, but he was not so minded.

In the next letter the situation has reached its crisis, II. Cor. 10-13, and every sentence quivers with resentment and indignation and is pointed with sarcasm and invective. In a subsequent letter he writes of this one, "Out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears; not that ye may be made sorry, but that ye may know the love which I have more abundantly unto you", II. Cor. 2:4. Compare also II. Cor. 2:9 with 10:6. In this letter he forces matters to an issue; and they must either break with their apostle or his assailants. The situation is much more acute

and developed. We may suppose that Timothy returned bringing bad news, and this letter is in reponse to his report. He tells us in a subsequent letter that it was sent by Titus with instructions to report to the apostle at Troas, whither he was about to go for a ministry, II. Cor. 2:12, 7:5 ff. His critics now charge that he is courageous when absent, but cowardly when present, basing their charge on the fact that he delayed to make the promised visit; that his letters were weighty and strong, but his bodily presence is weak and his speech of no account; that he charged nothing for his preaching, because it was worth nothing; that he was "weak", as shown by his personal infirmity and the treatment he everywhere received for his ministry in injuries, persecutions, distresses and necessities; that his preaching to them free was but to ingratiate himself with them for future exploitation, probably through the collection Titus had already begun; and this also was a reason for his apologies. On the other hand, the apostle charges that they are "false apostles, deceitful workers, fashioning themselves into apostles of Christ", when in reality they are ministers of Satan; that they "trust in themselves that they are Christ's" and set others at naught; that they show their folly by measuring themselves by themselves and comparing themselves with themselves in their boasting of their own superiority; that they are intruders in "stretching themselves" to evade his province in Corinth; that their work in Corinth is comparable to that of the serpent in beguiling Eve in its craftiness; that they were fools in their boasting and glorying after the flesh over their Hebrew and Christian standing. He promises to avenge their disobedience so soon as he shall have gotten the full obedience of the church, and vindicate his apostolic authority in his own province; and their end shall be according to their own works, as he had done before to those who had sinned by unchaste lives and repented not, 12:21—probably a reference to some disciplinary acts upon the occasion of his former visit mentioned in I. Cor. 11:34. He threatens to bring the case to trial when he comes, and not to spare the guilty, showing the

proof of the power of Christ which they say they seek from him. But he prefers that the church try the case itself by setting itself right, since Christ is also in them as well, unless they be reprobate; and in so doing he asks that they do no evil in order to approve him, but what is honorable even though it make him a reprobate. For he would have the church "strong" unto its own perfecting; and to this end he writes that the case may be settled before he comes, in order that his authority as an apostle may be used for building up rather than casting down, 13:5-10. So he submits the issue and urges the church to settle it before he comes on the promised visit. The letter exposes the vain boasting of his assailants, refutes their false interpretations of his conduct and infirmities, dispells their depreciatory reflections on his apostolic standing and attainments; but his object in it all is to win the church back to loyalty and sanity from its position of toleration and encouragement towards his traducers. His rebuke of the course of the church is not less severe than his arraignment of his assailants. The church is time-serving, and looks only at the things that are before their faces, 19:7. They bear with the foolish gladly, being wise themselves; for they bear with a man who enslaves them, devours them, slaps them in the face with his own self-conceit, 11:20 ff. This false estimate of self-boasting makes the apostle set forth his own apostolic authority and attainments, an immodesty he would fain have avoided, 12:11. But in all he writes the end in view is not his own personal vindication, but the preservation of the church from schism. The issue is drawn, and Titus goes to Corinth with the letter under instruction to report how it is received to the apostle at Troas. It was probably early in Dec. 55 A.D.; and the apostle, after the riot in Ephesus, goes on to Troas. Titus fails to meet him, and although a door is opened to him in the Lord, he had no relief in spirit, because he found not Titus", II. Cor. 2:12 f; and so he goes on into Macedonia. Even there he found not Titus, and "his flesh had no relief but afflictions on every side, fightings without and within fears". At length

Titus came bringing good news that the church in Corinth had followed his recommendation and settled the matter, completely vindicating the apostle and excommunicating the schismatics by a majority vote, II. Cor. 2:4, 7:5 ff. And the apostle was comforted.

In response to this report of his complete victory in Corinth the apostle wrote the letter in II. Cor. 1:15-2:13, 7:5-16, explaining that he had not made them the promised extra visit because he "would spare them" and the charge that his failure to do so was indicative of fickleness was not founded; nor was his "sorrowful letter" written to make them sorry, but to show his love for them. The cause of the sorrow was in the offender whom they had excommunicated by a majority vote, a sufficient punishment; and the apostle entreats that he be forgiven and comforted, since the action already taken is sufficient to show that the church has been proven true. He then tells about his solicitude on not finding Titus at Troas according to agreement, nor yet for a time when he arrived in Macedonia; but when he did come he brought great comfort and joy as he described in detail the effect of his letter, and how his glorying in the Corinthians was vindicated. This letter must have been written very soon after the arrival of Titus, and may be dated in Feb. 56. Along with this letter was probably sent another, II. 1:3-14, 2:14-6:13, 7:2-4, written in behalf of himself and missionary associates, "Paul's companions in travel", Acts 19:29, in response to certain helpful intervention the Corinthians had given them in the "afflictions that befell them in Asia". Those afflictions are termed "the sufferings of Messiah"; sufferings for Christ's sake which abounded in them. They were so severe that they despaired even of life itself, and their deliverance from that death was to be regarded as a manifestation of the power of God to raise the dead. The supplication of the Corinthians had helped in procuring for them the gift of deliverance, where the word "supplication" is not the one ordinarily used for prayer. We may suppose that the Corinthians made some formal petition to the Asiarchs which led to the deliverance

of the missionaries. This would account for the friendly intervention of these officials in the riot of Demetrius, Acts 19:31. Such a petition would also explain the reference in 1:13,14 to some open acknowledgment of the apostles "in part". But such a deliverance issued in a Messianic triumph, 2:14-17; and the letter enters at this point into a discussion of the Messianic ministry as compared to that of Moses, and of its meaning and value to the churches, and an interpretation of the suffering it entails, which should but the more commend it. It will be noticed that in this letter the author is throughout the ministerial "we"; whereas in the one just above it is "I". Some may doubt whether the differences are sufficient to distinguish them as two separate letters, or whether it is one letter with personal interpolations; but I am persuaded more and more that they are to be regarded as originally constituting separate letters, though I have not so indicated in the beginning of this article. Later in the early spring of 56 the apostle wrote the letter, II. 8-9, urging the completion of the collection for the saints and giving information about how that matter was being prosecuted by the Macedonians. After spending the summer of that year in Macedonia he went on to Corinth, where he spent the winter of 56-57. It was probably while with them on this occasion that the letters were compiled into the two Epistles as we have them, a Paul-Sosthenes epistle and a Paul-Timothy one.

In compiling letters and raising them to the dignity of epistles there must have been some important changes in the original writings to adapt them to their new form and function. The address and conclusions would be omitted if purely formal and containing no important matter; but where they are of value they would be conflated into the introduction and conclusion of the epistle. If we study I. Cor. 1:1-3 from this viewpoint I am sure we will observe signs of conflation; and the words "with all that call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every place, their Lord and ours" seem to have been added on the occasion of the compilation of the letters into the epistle for the especial purpose of giving epistolary

recognition and office to the final writing. Also the grateful appreciation in 1:4-9 is to serve for the epistle what we call a dedication in a book, and was put as a preface to the epistle when compiled. The messages in 16:10-20 are taken from the close of several of the letters, gathered here at the end of the epistle. The salutation in 16:21-23 "with mine own hand" is that of the apostle when he authenticated the epistle which the professional scribe had just finished by adding these words in his own hand as opposed to that of the handwriting of the scribe. In II. Cor. 1:1-2 the words "with all the saints which are in the whole of Achaia" seem to have been added when the letters were put into epistolary form; and the epistles may have been addressed to the saints of Achaia only because the contents of the letters were such that they were applicable peculiarly to those in this region. This collection is authenticated with a doxology as is also the Epistle to the Romans, 13:14.

Where a literary composition is compiled and formed from already existing writings, we must distinguish between the purpose of the writer in the original components and in the compilation. It is easy to see the purpose of the apostle in the several letters, but his purpose in the epistles is to be gotten from the order and way in which they are put together. This raises many perplexing problems, which must be solved or the theory suggested fails. Why does I. Corinthians open with the letter on the schisms in the church? Why is the letter of personal defense against his critics in 9 sandwiched between two letters treating of idolatrous feasts and foods? Why are the three letters in II. Cor. 1:3-7:16 conflated as we have them above? Why does II. Corinthians end with "the painful letter"? There are many other equally provoking questions raised by this theory, and they require extensive observation and study of the epistolary purpose of the Epistles into which we cannot now enter. It must suffice now to say that when these questions are answered it will show that the Epistles were from the first intended and formed to function canonically in the lives of Christians; for the epistolary purpose will not be found in the situation at Corinth

specially, but in the needs of Christendom for literary tools in the culture of the Messianic life. The apostle wrote the letters as the shepherd of the flock at Corinth to teach them to walk in the ways of the Christian life; and he subsequently raised these letters to the dignity of epistles to provide a Bible for Christian use. In the year 57 A.D. the Christian Bible at Corinth probably consisted in one of the gospel narratives (diegesis) referred to in Luke 1:1 and these two Epistles; but if they only knew well what was contained even in these, they were better informed in matters Christian than most people have ever been. The theory here set forth in the explanation of the epistolary genesis of the Corinthian Epistles is even more strikingly confirmed when applied to the similar phenomena presented in Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, Thessalonians, Colossians, Philippians, Timothy, Titus and the Catholic Epistles.

# BOOK REVIEWS

## I. THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

**The Great Assurance.** By George A. Gordon, D. D. The Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1911, 50 cents, net.

"The Great Assurance" is faith in the Gospel of the Risen Lord, so characteristic of a triumphant early Christianity. "The story of the risen Lord, the hardest to grasp for the disciple of Jesus today, was the clearest and surest to the Apostles," says the well-known Boston preacher, the author of this vital and reassuring little book. "Had there been no Gospel of the Risen Lord, there would have been no Gospel at all." It is good to read this re-telling of the story that many would set aside or explain away, today. GEO. B. EAGER.

**The Value and Dignity of Human Life.** By Charles Gray Shaw, Ph. D., Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press, Boston, 1911. $2.50 net.

The learned author is Professor of Philosophy in New York University. He essays to find and show "the value and dignity of human life" "as shown in the striving and suffering of the individual."

The result as here given is of interest to the student especially for the full view given of the Classic Moralists from Socrates to Spinoza, from Kant to Nietzsche. It is valuable to literary people for its searching study of ethics as seen in the strivings of such masters as Wagner, Tolstoi, Sudermann, Gorki, and Anatole France.

It will prove helpful to the serious-minded in general, because it seeks honestly to show how happiness is to be attained and the true end of life achieved, and because it is written with a conviction that a radical change is taking place in our conception of human ideals and activities.

As the author sees it, it is necessary to ask for the first time, *What Is Man For?*. A new view of humanity is required. He aims "to elaborate a system of major morality based upon the totality of our human striving." He addresses himself "to the man who would comprehend humanity, in order that he may find his own place in the vast world." It is a serious grappling with a great subject. The material, he says, has been used with good results among students of New York University.

GEO. B. EAGER.

**Unitarian Thought.** By Ephraim Emerton, Professor of Church History in Harvard University. New York, 1911. Macmillan Co. Pages 309. Price, $1.50 net.

This volume is not a history of Unitarian thought, as one might suppose from the title, but an exposition and commendation. Its purpose, as stated by the author, is missionary. "This little book is intended for three classes of readers: first, for those to whom Unitarianism is only a name; second, for those who have distinct, but unfavorable impressions of Unitarians; third, for Unitarians themselves, to remind them once again of the treasure they have received from their fathers, and their obligations to see that it be not diminished." (p. vii). It "cannot in any sense of the word be regarded as an official utterance," still the author gives "expression to what he believes to be, on the whole, the *consensus* of Unitarians on the main topics of religious discussion." (p. 6). The author repudiates the three most serious current criticisms of Unitarianism, viz.: that it "is merely a kind of religious philosophy," "that it is merely a system of morals," and "that it is a mere bundle of negatives—that it has nothing positive to offer, but must content itself with always being in the opposition." (pp. 7, 8). The author claims that Unitarianism is a real religion, that its morals grow out of its religious convictions, and finally, that it is negative in its attitude only because it is in the midst of a Christianity so overgrown with excrescences that its chief duty is necessarily critical. The book is written with these three criticisms constantly in mind, the author says, and evidently largely in the attempt to meet them.

Chapter I deals with "The Nature of Belief," and the author thinks "if there is anything peculiar in the mental attitude of Unitarians toward religious questions, it is to be found in their understanding of what constitutes belief." (p. 11). With this proposition readers of the book will probably agree. One's theory of knowledge is usually the determining factor in the formulation of his religious as well as other views. And by the testimony of this author Unitarianism is committed absolutely to unmitigated subjectivism. The position is stated thus: "Independence of all formal authority is the Unitarian's first demand as he approaches the subject of religious belief. The second is that religious truth shall not conflict with any other, or with all other forms of truth." (p. 20). What is meant by "formal authority" is not made clear, but in the course of the discussion it is made clear that the authority of the Scriptures and of the Church are repudiated, leaving the individual to his own unaided intuitions. The third characteristic of religious belief is that "it shall come to him with an imperative command resulting from the nature of the belief itself." (p. 21). The idea of "the will to believe" is abhorrent to the Unitarian; he must approach every subject with absolute indifference, with critical coldness. He must, indeed, have the will to be a believer, "but when it comes to specific beliefs, the belief in a certain definite proposition, then he cannot for a moment admit the right of the will to have anything to say in the matter." (p. 23). This is curious. The will, not the intellect, is to determine the whole bent and direction of thought, but on specific questions the intrusion of the will is an impertinence not to be tolerated! This is voluntarism in general and rationalism in particular. There are many other positions equally as inconsistent. After thus making the intellect the sole discoverer and arbiter of religious beliefs the author turns about and undoes his own work by claiming what everybody knows, that religion is made up of emotions and will far more than of thoughts. The treatment is thus utterly confused and confusing. The author finally reaches the purely pragmatic position in regard to religious beliefs. "The highest

sanction he can find for his beliefs is in the inner witness of his own enlightened reason and his own disciplined emotion." (27). "In the last resort, he must rely upon his own powers of spiritual perception to interpret to him the ways of God with men." (p. 28). This position makes religion purely individualistic, without social value or social significance. And the author does not hesitate to draw the final and inevitable conclusion in these words: "What comes to him in this way as true, is true to him, and beyond this he cannot go. It is not his concern whether it be true to some one else; for that he is not responsible. Neither is he answerable for the absolute truth as it exists in the mind of God." (p. 28). Such a position makes missionary effort on a religious basis an impertinence. Truth is not something to be propagated, or even sought in its essence. It is not strange that Unitarianism is so little missionary. And yet the Unitarians are not consistent. Why did the author write this book to commend Unitarianism, if what other men believe is no concern of his? He and his co-religionists are reasonably zealous in spreading these paralyzing dogmas which tend to destroy all the religious motives and activities of evangelical Christianity and reduce it to a system of thought. The only motive to service left to Unitarianism is humanitarian.

The author's view of "belief" determines all the rest. Of course he denies the fact and the possibility of miracle; he endows men, all men, with such powers of religious intuition and self-salvation as to make them prophets and seers (for themselves); the Bible is the product of a race of religious geniuses, Jesus was a mere man who "in all probability" "had his moments of opposition to the Divine will which constitute the attitude of 'sin.' Even our meager and laudatory accounts of him give abundant support for this view." (p. 165). Redemption is a figment and the future life is probably a continuation of the present with all its imperfections, etc.

One rises from a perusal of this book with the distinct feeling that Unitarianism is not the consistent system of thought which he had regarded it, that it is almost only and solely

a system of thought, that it is and must continue negative in any and every Christian land, that it has no power but to paralyze and refrigerate, that it is dangerous not as an organization but only as a leaven in evangelical ranks.

The book is persuasive and well written, and one who wishes to know the fundamental beliefs of the Unitarians will find this work a valuable one.

W. J. McGLOTHLIN.

**The Theology of Schleiermacher:** A Condensed Presentation of His Chief Work, "The Christian Faith." By George Cross. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 344 Pages, $1.65, postpaid.

No one can understand modern theological movements who is without a knowledge of Schleiermacher's system of teaching. Oman has given us a translation of Schleiermacher's "Speeches on Religion," in which one finds presented with much diffuseness, and yet in an engaging manner, Schleiermacher's fundamental religious and philosophic conceptions. Hitherto, however, Schleiermacher's development of his fundamental views into a dogmatic system in his monumental work, "The Christian Faith," has remained inaccessible to those unacquainted with the German language. Since Schleiermacher is today a very vital force in theology and influential in manifold ways Professor Cross has rendered a most timely and valuable service in giving to the general reader the translation in condensed form of Schleiermacher's system of theology.

There is first a sketch of Schleiermacher's life, covering 63 pages. This is followed by a section, from page 67 to page 113, on Schleiermacher's relation to earlier Protestantism. In the sketch of the life the influence of the Moravians upon Schleiermacher's development is quite properly emphasized. In fact, Schleiermacher drew from his Moravian teachers and environment during an important period, the most vital elements of his Christianity. In the section on Schleiermacher's relation to earlier Protestantism it is made clear that Schleiermacher does not belong among theologians to the line of succession produced by the prevalent scholastic Protestantism, but rather to that less conspicuous but far more significant and spiritual line which

arose out of the Pietistic and Anabaptist movement with its emphasis upon the direct relation of the soul to God and the inner life of the spirit.

Schleiermacher's relation to the thought of his time was very close, however, since his conception of religion as the feeling of absolute dependence was formulated in direct antithesis to the barren rationalism of the period. Protestantism in Germany had in large measure degenerated from its early spiritual energy into the unfruitful confessional state church in which the emphasis had been transferred from the spiritual life to the intellectual formulation of truth. At the same time the effort of reason to set up systems of natural religion had proven equally barren of practical results. Schleiermacher restored religion to the heart and showed its fundamental place in the life of man and reversed the conceptions of dogmatics. Henceforth doctrines are to be the expression of religion primarily and not systems to be imposed by institutional churches or other forms of ecclesiastical authority.

Schleiermacher was one of the greatest of systematic theologians if the consistent application in a large way of a single great conception may be taken as a criterion of greatness. His constructive power was remarkable, and his influence on theological thought has in large measure been due to the thorough-going manner in which he organized the material of theology around his fundamental conception. The type of thought which he represents found able advocates in the early centuries in Clement of Alexandria and other Greek theologians, but none of them dealt in so systematic a manner with the subject nor did any of them work with Schleiermacher's conception of religion. The Ritschlian school are the modern successors of Schleiermacher, broadly speaking. Yet his influence is felt in many ways apart from the Ritschlians.

Professor Cross in a closing section (pp. 297-334) gives an estimate of Schleiermacher which is suggestive and valuable. He points out the fragmentary and inadequate conception of religion set forth by Schleiermacher, and insists that religion includes, and must include, all the elements of our spiritual nature, thought

and will as well as feeling. Most of the replies which Professor Cross gives to the objections to Schleiermacher's views are forceful and strong although not always convincing. The charge of subjectivism which is made and justly made against Schleiermacher, Professor Cross seeks to meet by calling attention to Schleiermacher's insistence upon "the communion-forming power of the Christian faith." Through this it is held a normative character is given to faith which saves it from individualism and subjectivism. But this scarcely meets the objection from the Christian standpoint, although it helps so long as religion is conceived of quite generally and without particular regard to Christianity. And this suggests what, to the reviewer, is the fundamental criticism of Schleiermacher, viz., his vain attempt to combine Christianity with an essentially pantheistic fundamental conception. Schleiermacher's formal definition of religion as the feeling of absolute dependence, as well as his exposition of the definition in the "Speeches" and in "The Christian Faith," clearly show the pantheistic character of his thought. The denials of this character, when made, are all based on incongruous elements which Schleiermacher icorporated into his fundamental principle. Only by reconstructing his fundamental conception of religion could Schleiermacher have secured for Christianity a necessary and natural place in his scheme of thought. His Moravian training and deep spiritual life saved him from the intellectualism of his times and made him essentially Christian in his practical religious life. But in order to obtain a theoretical vindication of religion he resorted to an inherently non-Christian point of view. The result is that everywhere in his writings we observe a struggle between his Christianity and his pantheism. Schleiermacher, nevertheless, rendered a most signal service to the cause of religion and of Christianity in that he called the cultured classes of his day back from a barren intellectualism to a truly inward and essential conception of religion. We greatly rejoice in the publication of this translation and exposition of Schleiermacher by Professor Cross. His work has been admirably done and the volume will no doubt find a wide circle of readers among thoughtful ministers and laymen. E. Y. Mullins.

**Aspects of Authority in the Christian Religion.** By H. S. Robins. Griffith & Rowland Press, Philadelphia, 1911. 151 Pages. 75 Cents.

The writer of this little volume does not attempt an exhaustive discussion of the subject of authority but, as the title indicates, limits himself to Aspects of Authority in the Christian religion. Part I is historical and deals with authority in Judaism, the New Testament Church, the New Testament Scriptures, the Authority of Dogma, Early Protestantism and the Authority of the Bible. Part II discusses authority in relation to the Bible, Reason, Conscience, Christian Consciousness, Jesus, and closes with a section on The Rank of Authorities.

The author exhibits excellent appreciation of the central issues as to authority and discusses them with much ability. Jesus Christ is final as the revelation of God to us and the Bible is final for its purpose, which is to bring us to Christ. Due provision is made for the function of reason and for the Christian consciousness. Christianity not only admits but requires by its very nature the exercise of the reason. Our intellectual processes, however, yield varying results in successive generations, and thus our theological formulations do not become final. The Christian consciousness is witness to many vital and fundamental Christian truths, and possesses a certain kind of authoritativeness on undisputed points. It is not, however, final and cannot be, save where there is a quite general consensus. Jesus Christ mediates life to men, and in and through Him alone do we truly find God. The literary record of His life and work is the result of His action in human experience and is trustworthy. There are philosophic aspects of the subject of authority lying in the background which the author's plan did not require him to discuss. The subject of authority in religion is one which calls in a peculiar manner for clear treatment in our day. This volume is an excellent addition to the literature of the subject. E. Y. Mullins.

**New Thought, Its Lights and Shadows.** An Appreciation and a Criticism. By John Benjamin Anderson, Professor in Colgate University. Boston, 1911. Sherman, French & Company. 153 pages. $1.00 net.

The sub-titles accurately and admirably describe this work

It takes "New Thought" very seriously as indeed it must be taken in certain parts of our country. The author sees very sympathetically the good in a system—or temper—that has in it enough of value to make it a hindrance to the deeper, truer faith of God. At the same time, he sees the defects, limitations and delusions of the New Thought teaching. There is an historical and expository outline of the "movement" and then a criticism of its main items in conection with the Christian truth as affected by each item. For those under the influence of New Tuoght, but not captives of its claims, this should prove a wholesome tonic. For those who know nothing directly of New Thought, but wish to learn of it in brief space, this book will serve the purpose better than any other. Of course for one who wants to get a full exposition of the teachings there are many volumes not only by Mr. Trine, but by other adherants of the new cult.

W. O. Carver.

**The Ever-Coming Kingdom of God. A Discussion on Religious Progress.** By Bernhard Duhm, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Theology in the University of Basle, Switzerland. Translated by Dr. Archibald Duff of Bradford. London. 1911. Adam & Charles Black. The Macmillan Co., American Agents. 90 pages. 80 cents net.

The conception of this work is one of primary importance for any abiding faith in God or any true optimism concerning humanity. There are many passages in the discussion rich in suggestion and inspiring in thought. The plan of the work is mainly a tracing of the development of the idea of the Kingdom of God in the Hebrew prophets. The history of the Hebrews and the teaching of the prophets are conceived after the order of the radical criticism and it is the more remarkable that the learned author finds so encouraging and hopeful the growth of this fundamental idea in the progress of man under the leading of God.

**"Dem Volke Muss Die Religion Erhalten Werden."** Rede zur Feier des Geburtstages Sr. Majestät des Kaisers, am 27 Januar, 1911, in der Aula der Kaiser Wilhelms-Universität, Strassburg, Gehalten von Dr. Julius Smend, Ord. Professor der Theologie. Strassburg, 1911. J. H. Ed. Heitz. 32 Pages. Paper.

This address makes a plea for a proper place for religion in

the popular schools of Germany on the basis of the work and emphasis in this direction by Frederick the Great. It recounts the history and sets forth the present need. The spirit is liberal but evangelical and insistent.

**The Volitional Element in Knowledge and Belief, and Other Essays in Philosophy and Religion.** By Delo Corydon Grover, S.T.B., Dean of Scio College, Professor of Philosophy and Religion. Introduction by Francis J. McConnell, D.D., LL.D., President DePauw University. Boston, 1911. Sherman, French & Company. 178 Pages. $1.20 Net.

There are sixteen essays and a poem, besides the Introduction, in this volume and they include a wide range of topics—philosophical, expository and practical. The most extensive is that entitled "A Group of Studies of the Life and Times of Jesus," which are very good for young students. The first essay, from which the title for the book is taken, may possibly be described as a sort of pragmatic justification of philosophical apriorism with the theses of orthodox Christianity for premises. There are a number of eminently practical chapters dealing with subjects of vital interest to the minister, as well as to others, e. g. "Men and the Church." "The Bible—What is claimed for it." Other chapters deal with such important theological subjects as sin, retribution, prayer.

## II. RELIGION AND MISSIONS.

**The Boy from Hollow Hut.** By Isla May Mullins. New York. Fleming H. Revell Company. 213 Pages. 1911.

A sustained and inspiring story of the Kentucky mountains by one whose graceful and sympathetic pen has already avouched itself in verse and story. There is not a dull page in it, from the first, where Steve, "The Boy of Hollow Hut," stands muttering with clenched teeth, "I'll ketch you yit" to the "old cottontail" that had bounded away from him and was lost in the underbrush, down to the last page of the final chapter on "Fruition," where the boy, now transformed into the educated, achieving man, is seen with the heroine and companion of his toils, Nancy,

the erstwhile sweetheart of his boyhood, having just opened a new school with well equipped, modern buildings crowning the old wooded mountain of his boyhood haunts, at a time when "The 'Still' has passed away" and "a new day has dawned for Hollow Hut." Indeed, it thrills and glows and grows in interest to the last. Its pictures of the mountains, their gloom and their glory, and of the mountain life with its dark vices and shining virtues, its life-like characters and characterizations, its sharply drawn contrasts between life in the mountains and life in the city, its charming double love story, never running smooth and at times approximating the tragic, all go to make up a story thoroughly true to life and racy of the soil, of alternating lights and shadows producing a genuine Rembrandt effect, full of the finest lessons and implications of true heroism and love of humanity, and with a sunset glow prophetic of a brighter day for the awakening, struggling mountain people. It will interest and enchain us all, young and old, if we give it half a chance, and, if there's any responsiveness in us, do us good. GEO. B. EAGER.

**The Growth of the Kingdom of God.** By S. L. and E. L. Gulick. 16mo. The Pilgrim Press, Boston. 1910. 50 cents net.

Outline studies based upon Mr. S. L. Gulick's meritorious earlier work, *The Growth of the Kingdom of God.* It is made even more valuable and useful by statistics brought up to date, new material added, and a full bibliography.

**The Unoccupied Mission Fields of Africa and Asia.** By Samuel M. Zwemer, F.R.G.S., Secretary Student Volunteer Movement, Missionary to Arabia. New York, 1911, Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. 280 Pages. Cloth $1.00; Paper 50 Cents.

When Christian leaders are talking so seriously of giving the Gospel to the whole world it is eminently wise to have some one point out clearly what parts of the world remain unoccupied. No one is better fitted to do this than Dr. Zwemer, with his ripe scholarship, extensive knowledge, fervent spirit and determined will. All these he brings into play in presenting the "land that remains to be possessed" in Africa and in Asia, both on the continents and on the islands of the seas. It is not merely a geo-

graphical survey, but the social, religious and cultural conditions are presented. Nor is it merely an enthusiastic appeal. The causes for these lands not as yet having been occupied are carefully presented, the difficulties are canvassed and the strategic value of occupation shown. It is a good contribution to an understanding of the present world situation for Christian missions.

**Baptists Mobilized for Missions.** By A. L. Vail, author of "The Morning Hour of American Baptist Missions." Philadelphia, 1911. American Baptist Publication Society. 176 pages. 75 cents net.

This work is a study of the constitution of Baptist Missionary organization in the United States with special reference to the basis of representation in the various organizations.

The first seven chapters are historical, dealing with the main topic as seen in the general organizations and in a number of selected State Conventions and General Associations. Here one thinks he overlooked some items of importance in such States as Arkansas and Texas.

Chapter VIII deals at length with the doctrinal import and basis of organizations, while Chapter IX undertakes to discuss the "practical" questions involved. The work is a very valuable one for the study of this subject. The author's positions do not always comment themselves to the reader's judgment, but more often they do. The great advantage is in the bringing together within easy reach the historical facts as represented in the growth of organization.

## III. BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

### I. INTRODUCTION.

**Introduction to the New Testament.** By Theodore Zahn. Translated from the Third German Edition. In Three Volumes. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1909.

A skeptical reviewer of the first German edition of this monumental work ventured to conjecture that, owing to the great bulk of the work, the circulation would not be wide. In his preface to this first English edition Dr. Zahn notes, not without

pride, that the conjecture has not proved true. It met a demand that has required a third German edition, and now, in this English translation it is meeting a wide demand and gives promise of exerting a corresponding influence in the English-speaking world.

The great work goes out in every detail a worthy reproduction of the last German edition, and thus offers to the English reader the masterly results of sober, scientific research in a vast field of growing importance, the rich treasures of which are being more and more laid open to those whose research is patient and whose vision is unbiased and clear. The American editor, Dean Melancthon Williams Jacobus, of Hartford Theological Seminary, well says "The problems of New Testament study are too important to allow the results which this renowned scholar's years of scientific study had gathered into these volumes to be permanently locked up in a foreign language." How this work of translation was accomplished by certain fellows and scholar's years of scientific study had gathered into these volumes abroad, and in conference with Professor Zahn, is a story of deep interest, but too long to be retold here. It is enough for us that the work was done, from first to last, by these and other scholars, under the direction and supervision of Dean Jacobus, so that "the results are marked with accuracy and completeness." It is no small service, surely, that has thus been rendered to the English-reading scholarship of the world. The American publishers, too, are due their share of the recognition and praise for undertaking such a work, and putting it into so satisfactory a form. No contribution to the literature of the subject of New Testament Introduction of superior value has ever been made. There is nothing here that savors of the unhealthy eccentricities in criticism that have obtained in certain quarters. Only the sounder tendencies that mark the beginings of a trend toward betterment are here found—as seen, for instance, in an appreciation of the tradition, without which it is impossible for any criticism to make an historical presentation of New Testament times and New Testament Christianity. An increasing distrust of *a priori* constructions of every kind and more trust and attention to material and personal details, which were inserted quite unconsciously on

the part of the New Testament writers, but which are of inestimable value to us, because they afford us often a better insight than do leading ideas, into the connection between literary remains and the circumstances and conditions under which they were produced, is a hopeful feature of present day criticism. "This development of the historical sense among theologians," says Zahn, "has redounded to the benefit of my Introduction." The work may be commended without stint to all students of Biblical Introduction.

GEO. B. EAGER.

**Present Day Conservatism and Liberalism Within Biblical Lines.** J. G. Butler. Sherman, French & Co. Boston. 1911. Pages 122. $1.00.

Conservatism and Liberalism are words with much elasticity of meaning ordinarily. Here, however, the lines are drawn with the utmost sharpness and distinctness. The author describes Conservatism as that general view of things which is based on revealed and verified facts, and which points to "effective results" in the existing worldwide Christendom. It accepts the laws of thought and of reason, and sustains its conclusions by evidence and proof. It is a positive system stated in Bible terms and concerns the "redemptive agency of the Triune Godhead." Liberalism is defined as the exact antithesis of all these points which offers neither argument, nor proof, and sets up the finite reason of man against the infinite God.

In the author's view the underlying root of Liberalism is the theory of evolution, and its denial of the Supernatural along with other baneful tendencies culminating in the higher criticism and the new theology. The book is vigorously written, and says much that is timely and valuable in contrasting evangelical Christianity with extreme modern tendencies. It is doubtful, however, whether the method adopted by the author is the most useful one for the present time. The book will convince no skeptic, since it does not seem to be conceived with that end in view. It will, no doubt, confirm the views of those previously in agreement with those of the author. It is not wise or true or helpful, however, but quite the contrary, for a theological writer to assume that everything modern is bad. Discriminating adjustment, while con-

serving truth, is the need of the hour, not the wholesale denunciation, in which this book too often indulges. There are numerous particular statements in the book with which we cannot at all agree. For example, on page 9 we read:" The accepted creed, with its immediate results of regeneration and conversion, is the beginning of the Christian life." In his controversy with President Brown of Union Seminary the author utters views as to creeds which scarcely square with New Testament Christianity. It is not the acceptance of a creed, but the acceptance of Christ which brings life to the soul. E. Y. MULLINS.

**Vorschläge für eine Kritische Ausgabe des Griechischen Neuen Testaments.** Von Caspar René Gregory. J. C. Heinrich'sche Buchhandlung. Leipzig, Germany. 1911. S. 52. Pr. M. 1.50.

Professor Gregory is the acknowledged master in the realm of Textual Criticism of the New Testament. In this fact America can take special pride, for he is an American. He holds the professorship on this subject at Leipzig. His writings on the subject of Textual Criticism have carried his fame all over the world. He is now engaged in his *Magnum opus,* which is nothing less than a critical edition of the Greek New Testament to take the place of Tirchendorf's *Novum Testamentum Graecum.*

To secure the best results he is seeking the co-operation of New Testament scholars all over the world. To facilitate this service he has prepared the "Vorschläge." Every New Testament scholar should secure a copy and thus see how he may be able to give Dr. Gregory the benefit of his ideas on various matters of importance. The points are technical, to be sure, but none the less interesting. For instance, should Dr. Gregory print an edited text at the top of the page? Should he take note of readings of the *Textus Receptus?* Should he make an entirely new apparatus or merely revise Tischendorf? The size of the page? Should he make such long quotations from the Patristic writers as Tischendorf does? It is a noble and notable task to which Dr. Gregory has set himself and he deserves the heartiest co-operation of all New Testament scholars. Among other things he desires a complete list of names and addresses of New Testa-

ment scholars. Dr. Gregory is at present in America and will be heard at various schools of learning, including the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. But he can be addressed at the University of Leipzig with safety. This work will of necessity be slow in execution, but the whole world will be his debtor when it is done. A. T. ROBERTSON.

**A Dictionary of the Bible.** By John D. Davis, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental and Old Testament Literature in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J., with many new and original maps and plans and amply illustrated. Third Edition. Revised throughout and enlarged. Philadelphia. 1911. The Westminster Press. 850 pages. $2.50 net, postage 25c.

Author and publishers of this convenient single-volume Bible dictionary are to be congratulated on its popularity. For twelve years it has been in demand at the rate of more than a hundred copies a month.

Its articles are necessarily short, direct, concise. As a rule they represent good scholarship, summarize well the Scripture usage of terms, and give the information needed by the average Bible reader. On points open to controversy, the position is Presbyterian and, often, is dogmatic rather than critical, or historical.

On matters involving Biblical criticism the position is conservative, but the reader is usually given a fair intimation of other views. It is not greatly enlarged as compared with former editions. W. O. CARVER.

**The Bible: Its Origin and Authority.** By W. F. Lofthouse, M. A., author of Ezekiel (The Century Bible). New York: Eaton & Mains. 1910. 50 cents, net.

A new book on an old subject that finds its merit and warrant in that it is a booklet (150 pages) designed and fashioned for popular use. To this purpose it is admirably adapted. It deals intelligently and clearly with the usual order of subjects in such treatises: "Manuscripts and Versions," "English Versions," "The Canon," "Origin of the Books," "Unity of the Bible," "The Bible and Other Sacred Books," "The Bible as Revelation," "The

Spirit and the Word." At the end is a helpful index to pertinent Scripture passages. GEO. B. EAGER.

**A History of the English Bible.** By T. Brown. University Press, Cambridge, England. Pages 134. 1911. 40 cents, net.

The history of the Bible is great as a history apart from the contents. Here it is brought down in a scholarly, but popular way, from 670 A. D. to the present time—"a history of many famous things, as of things both ancient and modern." (Records of Bunyan's "House Beautiful"). It is particularly timely and pertinent in that portion of the story which has strictly to do with the English Bible, "from the Monk of Whitby to the Abbey of Westminster, where chosen scholars met in 1870 to revise the Scriptures"—results of which revision saw the light in 1881.

We owe to them, to ourselves, and to the generations yet to come, that the memory of these men who achieved this history shall not be forgotten. This will prove one of many helps to us—"lest we forget." It concludes with an excellent bibliography and index. GEO. B. EAGER.

**Man and the Bible: A Review of the Place of the Bible in Human History.** By J. Allanson Picton. London, 1909. Williams & Norgate. Pages 334. 6s. net.

The title of this work led the reviewer to take it up with keen anticipations of pleasure and profit. No account of the actual effects of the Bible in the history of man had been written; it was an open field and the work was greatly needed. With what disappointment the book was laid down! The author is a follower of Spinoza, a pronounced pantheist. His whole religious and philosophical system is in direct contradiction to the fundamental assumptions of the Bible. At first it is difficult to see why such a man should have enough interest in the Bible to wish or attempt to write a history of its effects on mankind. A reading of the work reveals the animus of the whole, the purpose to discredit in a scientific way this greatest barrier to the progress of his own system.

The first chapter is a tirade against the work of the British

and Foreign Bible Society; all the weapons of ridicule, misrepresentation and innuendo are turned on this beneficent agent of religion and enlightenment. The author then proposes to trace the use and effects of the Bible backwards through history to its own formation. There are then three closing chapters on "The Bible and Religion", "The Bible and Morals" and "The Bible and Social Evolution", with an "Epilogue" stating the author's conclusions that man was evolved, that the Bible is a purely human book, that it has been apotheosized and made a fetish, that there are a few passages which add to the permanent riches of the race but that we should be better off without most of it.

The author has some learning, but it has not been used in any scientific way on this subject. The conclusion was determined before the investigation began, the facts and alleged facts were chosen and arranged to sustain that conclusion. The field is still clear for a real history of man and the Bible. The work under review renders just one service—it emphasizes the fact that the Bible has had little influence on much of the history of Christianity. W. J. McGLOTHLIN.

**The Chart Bible.** By Rev. James R. Kaye, Ph.D., LL.D. Fleming H. Revell Co.

The chief design of the Chart Bible is to make a vivid appeal to the mind through the eye. Since the significance of visual impressions is receiving strong emphasis in the pedagogical world, it is but natural that some one should present all the books of the Bible in a graphic way by the chart method.

There are forty-eight charts, consisting of straight lines and curve lines, in every rational combination with a succinct analysis printed in appropriate places on the chart, and followed by a chapter giving a fuller explanation of the graphic outline and accompanied by Bible references.

There are two introductory charts on "How We Got Our Bible," and "The Essential Character of the Bible."

Five charts illustrate the Pentateuch, seven, the Historical Material; six, the Poetical Books and seven, the Prophetical Works.

The history of the New Testament is illustrated by thirteen

charts, nine being devoted to the Gospels and four to the Acts of the Apostles, while six visualize the Epistles and one the Book of Revelation. The final chart presents a General Survey of the Bible. The charts are designed to relate the Bible facts and events in a condensed and comprehensive way. They will prove the most valuable part of the book to some types of mind while some students will derive a great benefit from the explanatory notes which are never prolix and are usually illuminating. The Chart Bible is a product of Bible teaching and is well adapted to drill and class work. BYRON H. DEMENT.

**Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl neu übersetzt und für die Gegenwart erklärt.** Von Prof. Lic. Dr. Hugo Gressmann usw. Lieferung 6-10. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1911. May be had of Lemcke & Buecher, New York.

Dr. Gressmann contributes the Doppel-Lieferung, 6 and 7, on Isreal's Oldest Historical Writing and Prophecy. The Eighth Lieferung is by Hermann Gunkel on the Earliest History and the Patriarchs with an Introduction to the Five Books of Moses and the Legends in Genesis. The ninth Lieferung contains the Lyric of the Old Testament by Prof. Stärk. In the tenth Lieferung, Hans Schmidt discusses the Major Prophets and their Time.

The translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into German is well done, and the introductions to various books and periods embody the newest views in literary and historical criticism. The translation and notes are designed for popular use. The present work is one fruit of the movement among German theological scholars to bring the latest results of research within reach of the average man. JOHN R. SAMPEY.

**Biblical Geography and History.** By Charles Foster Kent, Ph. D. With Maps. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911. $1.50 net.

Professor Kent and his publishers have placed students of the Bible under new obligations by the preparation and publication of this excellent manual. It is a fine companion volume for "The Historical Bible," by the same author. Geography has come to be rightly regarded as the foundation of all history. Moreover, geography has come to be defined as a description; not only of the earth and of its influences upon man's development, but also of the

solar, atmospheric and geological forces which throughout millions of years have given the earth its present form. "Hence," the author well says, "in its deeper meaning, geography is a description of the Divine character and purpose expressing itself through natural forces, in the physical contour of the earth, in the animate world, and, above all, in the life and activities of man." Biblical geography, then, may be said to be "the first and in many ways the most important chapter in that divine revelation, which was perfected through the Hebrew race and recorded in the Bible." No other commentary upon the Bible is so practical and luminous. It is not a study by itself, but the natural introduction to all other Biblical studies.

The work in no sense aspires to be a rival of such great works as the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* and the two massive volumes on *Jerusalem* by George Adam Smith, but modestly essays to meet the demand for a more compact manual, better suited to the use of the Bible teacher, in the seminary class-room and in the Bible-class. It aims to furnish just the information that every teacher of the Bible should possess in order to do the most effective work—the geographical data with which every student must be familiar in order intelligenty to interpret and fully to appreciate the ancient Scriptures. The author, accordingly, presents here, first, the physical geography of the Biblical lands and then traces in broad and luminous outlines the history of Isreal and of early Christianity in close conjunction with their geographical background. He acknowledges the debt he owes to "the valiant army of pioneers and explorers who have penetrated every part of the Biblical world and given us the results of their observations; but one of the shining merits of the volume is that it embodies the results of many months of travel and observation in the lands of the Eastern Mediterranean, and especially in Palestine, by the author himself, during 1892 and 1910. Additional value is added to the work by its fine maps, complete bibliography and index, and its arrangement in Appendix II, by which 140 stereographs, or stereoptican slides, are put at the disposal of the student, to illustrate the most important events of Biblical geography and history. GEO. B. EAGER.

**The Exploration of Egypt and the Old Testament.** By J. Garrow Duncan, D.D. Revell Co., New York. Pages 248. 1911. $2.50 net.

This volume may well be studied along side of the newer book by the eminent Egyptologist, Professor Flinders Petrie, *Egypt and Israel* (L. S. Gorham, New York, $1.00). Many years of laborious exploration in Egypt under the direction of Dr. Petrie and joint authorship with him of "Hyksos and Israelite Cities" (1906) have helped greatly to qualify Dr. Duncan, Wilson Archaeological Fellow, Aberdeen, 1905-6, to write intelligently on this subject.

At the outset he gives us a vivid account of the work, methods and experiences of the excavator, with illustrations from his own camera. As a writer, he is at once pains-takingly accurate and yet popular. You see this particularly in his records of his work in Goshen during the winter of 1905-6, where he "had the privilege of excavating and recording five sites."

He speaks with the authority of an experienced explorer on Jospeh's Granaries, the Route of the Exodus, the Treasure City of the Rameses, and discloses many singular facts about them. Then there are interesting additional chapters giving a succinct and popular account of Biblical Egyptology up to date, and others richly illustrated descriptive of modern Oriental life. Everywhere there are traces of a sane and reverent effort to show what bearing the results obtained by exploration have on the Old Testament. There are all told 100 illustrations, from photographs and sketch maps with identifications. GEO. B. EAGER.

**An Atlas of Textual Criticism.** An Attempt to Show the Mutual Relationship of the Authorities for the Text of the New Testament Up to About 1000 A. D. By Edward Ardron Hulton, M.A., Vicar of St. Michael's, Hargrave. The Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, England. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1911. Pages 125. Price 5s net.

Mr. Hulton is concerned not merely with the genealogy of the manuscripts, but with a map of the various readings in the New Testament. He takes up each book and by his atlas succeeds in making reasonably clear the changes, verse by verse, in the different centuries. This is done largely by symbols on the

atlas. He is a genuine enthusiast in Textual Criticism. It is, indeed, a fascinating subject.

**The New Sshaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge.** Edited by Samuel Macaulay Jackson. Vol. X. Reusch—Son of God. Funk & Wagnalls, New York and London. 1910. Price $5.00 per volume.

The number of topics treated in this volume is 695 and the number of pages is 517. A number of live topics come in for discussion, such as "The Use of the Bible in Public Schools from the Roman Catholic Standpoint," "Roman Catholics," "Sacred Music," "Revivals of Religion," "Soial Service in the Church," "Chrstian Science," "Sacrament," "Sabbath," "Sin," "Socialism," "Salvation Army," "Scotland," "Semitic Languages," 'Savonarola," etc.

The magnitude and worth of this great work grows on one as the volumes continue to come forth. It is a masterpiece and will serve the present generation in a variety of ways.

A. T. Robertson.

**The 1911 Bible. 1611-1911.** The text carefully corrected and amended by American scholars. With a new System of References. Oxford University Press, 35 W. 32nd street, New York City. 1911.

This new edition of the King James Version, commemorative of the Tercentenary of the Authorized Version, is bound in various styles and prices including one on the famous India paper. The changes made are slight and chiefly in matters of text. There is a new system of references.

## 2. OLD TESTAMENT.

**The Bible for Home and School. Commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy.** By W. G. Jordan, B.A., D. D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1911. Pages 263. 75 cents, net.

**The Book of the Prophecies of Isaiah.** By John Edgar McFadyen, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Language, Literature and Archeology, United Free Church College, Glasgow. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910. Pages 423. 90 cents, net.

Professor Jordan follows Dr. Driver pretty closely through-

out, though he has made considerable use of all the books on Deuteronomy. "The main part of what we now possess in 6-26, 28," remarks Dr. Jordan, "probably formed what is called the Law-book of Josiah." He assigns the historical review in 1:1-4:8 to another author. Some small sections are thought to be of Exilic origin, and certain large sections are set down as of uncertain date. The current critical view that the author of the core of our present book lived about 621 B. C. is accepted.

The purpose of the book was to produce a religious reformation by centralizing the worship at the central sanctuary in Jerusalem. All other places of worship are set aside. In contrast with freedom of worship at various sacred places in all Israel's early history, in the days of Josiah, according to Dr. Jordan, "pious men have come to the conclusion that these rural sanctuaries are the source of all religious corruption, and that the worship of the One God, in pure, decent forms, can only be carried on with safety at one central, sacred place. They may learn afterwards that even this place may become a center of impure worship and narrow bigotry, but in the meantime they press forward to their goal with that hopefulness which God graciously gives to all reformers."

The central purpose of the author, or authors, then, was the substituton of one central sanctuary for the many altars throughout the land. It seems to this reviewer that the Wellhausen school make the mistake of exalting a subordinate topic into the great central aim of the book.

Dr. Jordan, like most of the recent writers on Dentronomy, fails to give a satisfactory explanation of the fact that the addresses purport to come from Moses in the last month of his life. Perhaps it is requiring too much of our friends, the critics, to ask that they explain to our modern Occidental mind the process by which an Oriental reformer got his consent to ascribe to Moses long addresses that were first composed many centuries after the death of that great leader. We moderns are too inflexibly opposed to fraud, whether pious or not, ever to get it into our heads that it was right for a seventh century reformer to palm off his ideas as Mosaic.

Professor McFadyen writes on Isaiah with his usual skill and charm. He follows in the train of most recent critics in denying to Isaiah most of the prophecies that have commonly been ascribed to him. Apart from chapters 1-12 and 28-33, he assigns few prophecies to Isaiah, the son of Amoz. Dr. McFayden also falls in line with the current fashion of denying to a prophet such expressions as seem to interfere with the emphasis of the one message he is supposed to be presenting. Thus threat and promise cannot be freely mingled in one and the same discourse.

And so Isaiah 31:5 is regarded as a later addition to Isaiah's threat in 31:4. Dr. McFadyen raises the question, "Is it probable that Isaiah or any other speaker would have presented to his audience a message whose component parts were so conflicting as to cancel each other? That were perplexity, indeed."

I must confess that the prophetic writings in their traditional form appeal to me as a higher type of oratory and of written composition than the modern emendations of men who insist that a man must stand on only one foot. The true orator shifts from one foot to the other, sometimes quite rapidly. He pours forth his impassioned thought without asking whether his hearers will find it easy to weigh his ideas in the scales of cold reason.

Moreover, the prophets had two classes of hearers, and the warnings to the rebellious were accompanied by promises to the faithful. Jerusalem as the home of rebels was to be attacked by Jehovah as a fierce lion; Jerusalem as the home of the elect was to be protected by Jehovah as a mother bird.

Professor McFadyen accepts the recent critical view that there are three great authors rather than one or two in the roll of Isaiah: (1) Primo-Isaiah 740-701 B. C., (2) Deutero-Isaiah about 450 B. C., and (3) Trito-Isaiah about 540 B. C. To Deutero-Isaiah is ascribed the large section 40-55, while chapters 56-66 are assigned to Trito-Isaiah. The author thinks it not impossible that the last group may be composed of fragments from more hands than one.

The literary form of the Commentary on Deuteronomy as

well as that on Isaiah leaves little to be desired. Professors Jordan and McFadyen are masters of a pleasing style.

JOHN R. SAMPEY.

**The Beginning of Things in Nature and in Grace, Or a Brief Commentary on Genesis.** By Joseph K. Wright. Boston: Sherman, French & Company. 1911. Pages 181. $1.20 net.

The venerable author tells us that his interest in Genesis led him, shortly after his arrival in China as a missionary in 1848, to translate the book into the local dialect. He says of his studies through the years, "The inclination has been not to look for the mistakes of Moses, but for the eternal virtues revealed through Moses." The book is reverent and constructive. There is frank recognition of difficulties in Genesis, but the discussion is quite helpful. The treatment is telescopic rather than microscopic. Slight notice is taken of the modern literary criticism, but there is much that is valuable in the treatment of the scientific aspects of Genesis.

JOHN R. SAMPEY.

### 3. NEW TESTAMENT.

**Handbuch zum Neuen Testament.** 17. Lieferung. Vierter Band, Zweite Abtheilung. Die Katholische Briefe Erklärt von Lic. Dr. Hans Windisch, Privatdozent an der Universität, Leipzig.

18. Lieferung. Erster Band, erstes Teil: Neutestamentliche Grammatik. Das Griechisch des Neuen Testaments im Zusammenhang mit der Volksprache. Dargestellt von Dr. Ludwig Rademacher, O. Professor an der Universität, Wien. S. 80.

20. Lieferung. Bogen 6-13 (Schluss).

19. Lieferung. Dritter Band, Teil 2: Die Briefe des Apostels Paulus an die Thessalonicher I, II und an die Philipper, erklärt von Lic. Dr. Martin Dibelius, Privatdozent an der Universität, Berlin. S. 64.

Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, Germany.

This notable series goes on with increasing rapidity. A special price is offered for subscribers to the whole series. It will pay prospective purchasers to write for the list price and prospectus. The high standard of the work is maintained by these fresh contributions. Windisch takes the brother of Jesus as the claimed author of the Epistle of James, though admitting that the subject has its difficulties. In all the books of this series the text is the

German translation, but the notes discuss the Greek text. The notes are rich in linguistic material and are strictly scientific in method. Full use is made of the New Testament Apocrypha and other current literature. Windisch thinks it entirely natural that Jude, as James, should have called Jesus "Lord", instead of "Brother", but he is not sure of the authorship. He is in equal doubt about the Petrine Epistles, and is certain that Second Peter is not genuine. Windisch holds that the same man wrote the Johannine Epistles and the Fourth Gospel, but is not certain who he was. There is a wealth of learning in the notes.

Rademacher's *Grammatik* is a very able performance. It is in truth rather a grammar of the vernacular —— with incidental illustration from the New Testament. It is not a detailed and formal grammar of the New Testament in the usual sense of that term. For that very reason it will be found very useful as a help to the wider knowledge of the vernacular in which the New Testament was written. The illustrations from the papyri and the inscriptions are abundant and pertinent. In the "Vorwort" the author disclaims writing a grammar in the usual sense of that term. He treats rather "die sprächliche Vorgänge" of the New Tesatment. This is done very finely.

Dibelius handles ably the difficult problems connected with the Thessalonian Epistles and Philippians. He gives full weight to Harnack's new idea that Second Thessalonians was written at about the same time as the First Epistle, but had a narrower circle of readers. He has done an especially fine piece of work on Philippians.

**The Son of Man, or Contributions to the Study of the Thoughts of Jesus.** By Edwin A. Abbott. Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1910. Pages 873. Price 16s 6d ($5.50 net). Diatessarica Part VIII.

Dr. Abbott has reserved the most extended discussions of all his books in the *Diatessarica* Series for the treatment of the phrase "The Son of Man." He has, indeed, devoted a hundred pages to it in his "Notes on New Testament Criticism," not to mention "The Message of the Son of Man." But here in great detail and with much complete exegetical discussion of every

passage in the Gospels where the phrase appears, the distinguished author sets himself to the task of solving the meaning of this favorite designation of Himself in the words of Jesus. Dr. Abbott refuses to take the idiom to be a Greek mistranslation of the Aramaic *barnasha* for "Man" or "any one." He does think (p. XXI.) that "the Greek appears to have gone wrong in an attempt to render literally some Aramaic expression that cannot be rendered rightly if literally." The Greek, he holds, can only mean "the son of the above mentioned man" or "the son of the creature called man." Neither of these ideas suits the Gospels according to Dr. Abbott. But the general or representative use of the article does give a probable sense in the Gospels. Jesus as "the Son of Mankind" (his human nature and relations emphasized) does give an adequate idea. Into this phrase Jesus probably poured a Messianic content though the people as a whole did not so understand him. Yet see John 12:34. And Dr. Abbott denies that the Book of Enoch had any influence on the expression. He confines its ideas to the Bible itself and in particular to Ezekiel. He holds that "Son of Adam" is often what the phrase means. One thing is certain. No one can afford to pass by this monumental treatment of a vital subject.

A. T. Robinson.

**The Heart of the Master.** By William Burnett Wright. D.D. Houghton, Miffin & Co., Boston and New York. 1911. Pages 247. Price $1.25.

This volume has received very high praise. There is genuine freshness of thought and charm of style. The author strains the idea that the Triumphal Entry was meant merely to teach the people that He was not the kind of a Messiah that they expected. That was true and the use of an ass instead of a horse would symbolize that idea. But none the less, this act did make public proclamation of His Messiahship, a thing that He had hitherto studiously avoided. It is true that Mary alone rightly understood Christ about His death. But all the same, it is more than probable that Jesus purposely defied the Pharisees and Sadducees by the Triumphant Entry. The matter was so inter-

preted by the Gospels and it is gratuitous to brand them as mistaken in the matter. But the book is a suggestive one.

A. T. Robertson.

**Johannes der Täufer und Jesus Christus.** Von Dr. A. Pottgiesser, Rektor und Religionslehrer. Verlag und Druck von J. P. Bachem, Köln, Germany. 1911. S. 168. Pr. M.2.40. Geb. M. 3.20.

We have here the newest Roman Catholic discussion of John the Baptist. The author is familiar with many of the Protestant writings which he freely uses, but his position is frankly ecclesiastical. Indeed, the treatment throughout is more theological than Biblical though the author makes careful discussion of the important Scriptures, more subjective than historical. But the author cannot be classed as a blind reactionary. He steers fairly well between that position and Modernism. In many important matters the Catholic interpretation of John the Baptist does not differ from that of Protestant scholars. The author has scholarship and real grip on the chief facts and no little spiritual insight. Students of the life of the Baptist will find interest also in the standpoint of a Roman Catholic writer. A. T. Robertson.

**St. Paul and His Friends.** By Carl Hernom Dudley, Richard G. Badger. The Gorham Press, Boston. 1911. Pages 287.

This book is well worth while. There is no other adequate treatment of Paul's friends and they deserve a book. The author is an ardent admirer of Paul and finds joy in setting forth the traits of the leading men who were gathered round the great Apostle. He has assimilated all the known facts and made the most of them without overstraining them. It is really surprising how much crops out in the Acts and the Epistles. One gets a definite picture of Barnabas, John Mark, Silas, Timothy, Titus, Apollos, Aquila and Priscilla. The lines are dimmer in the case of Luke, Aristarchus, Epaphras, Epaphroditus, Onesimus, Philemon, Tychicus, Onesiphorus, but even here we are not wholly in the dark. One wonders that no mention is made of Gamaliel, Ananias of Damascus, Sergius Paulus, Erastus, Lydia, Philip, Julius the Centurion, Stephanos, Chloe, Gaius, Phoebe, who are as prominent as some of those discussed. There are,

besides, a great cloud of witnesses whose names we know, like Eubulus, Linus, Pudeus, Trophimus, etc. But I like the book very much and it is stimulating and useful. A. T. ROBERTSON.

**The Historical Value of the Fourth Gospel.** By E. H. Arkwith, D.D., Vicar of Kirby Lonsdale. Hodder & Stoughton. London and New York. 1910. Pages 316. Price, $1.50.

These chapters first appeared in *The Expositor* and attracted a great deal of attention then. They richly deserved preservation in book form. With painstaking care Dr. Arkwith has investigated the many details urged against the historical worth of the Fourth Gospel. He does not argue as a special pleader, but openly faces all the facts. He points out many items in this Gospel which throw light on the Synoptic account and others which have a very strong verisimilitude. On the whole Dr. Arkwith has a high opinion of the value of John's Gospel and does not hesitate to place it on a par with the Synoptic Gospels. I do not myself indorse all the interpretations of Dr. Arkwith, as, for instance, that on page 224ff about the eating of the passover meal. I fail to see any real conflict (see my notes in Broadus's Harmony of the Gospels) between the Synoptic Gospels and John on this point. But the book is one of great merit and will do good wherever read.

A. T. ROBERTSON.

**Die Abfassungszeit des lukanischen Geschichtswerkes.** Von Lic. theol. Heinrich Koch. A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Leipzig. 1911. ss. 102. M. 1.80.

It is significant that this able monograph on Luke's work in the Gospel and Acts should come out at nearly the same time as the book by Harnack on the Acts (*Neue Untersuchungen*). It is still more noteworthy that these two German scholars announce the same conclusion. They both accept the genuineness of Luke's two historical works. Koch concludes (s. 100) that the Gospel was written at Cæsarea during the two years there with Paul and may have received the last few finishing touches in Rome. The Acts, he argues (s. 101) was done during the two years in Rome though Luke probably

collected material while at Cæsarea. He gives A. D. 61 as the probable date of the Gospel and 63 as that of Acts. The author could have strengthened his position by the use of the books of Ramsay and Hobart, but he seems confined to the German authorities (Blass, Harnack, Jülicher, B. Weiss, Zahn). But it is a fine piece of work and is distinctly reassuring. The force of Harnack's retreat is having its influence on the younger scholars in Germany.

A. T. Robertson.

**The Great Texts of the Bible.** Genesis to Numbers. Pages 451. Price $3.00. Acts and Romans. Pages 507. Price $3.00.

Dr. Hastings is rapidly bringing out the volumes in this series. One must not look for a commentary in the usual sense of that term. There are only two texts in Leviticus that are discussed, for instance. But the texts that are treated have much that is luminous and pertinent. Current theological literature is drawn on for copious illustrations. The outlines are excellent and may be a temptation to some men, but the man who knows how to use these volumes will find them very helpful.

**The Acts of the Apostles with Introduction and Notes.** By H. C. O. Lanchester, M.A., Fellow and Dean of Pembroke College. Cambridge University Press, London. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1910. Pages 188. 30 cents, net.

**The Epistles of Peter, John and Jude.** Edited by Claude M. Blagden, M.A., Student and Tutor of Christ Church. Cambridge University Press, London. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Pages 96. Price, 30 cents, net.

The first volume belongs to the smaller Cambridge Bible for schools. There is a good map of Paul's journeys, a brief and clear introduction and excellent notes. The text of the King James Version is given, but the Revised Version is also put in the notes. The book is scholarly and helpful and well adapted to its purpose.

The second volume belongs to the Revised Version Edited for the Use of Schools. The writer accepts all these Epistles as genuine except Second Peter. He places that in the second century.

The notes are scholarly and helpful and the introduction gives the salient facts.

**Die Evangelische Erzählungen von der Geburt und Kindheit Jesu Kritisch Untersucht.** Von Dr. Daniel Völter, Professor der Theologie in Amsterdam. J. H. Ed. Heitz (Heitz und Mündel), Strassburg. 1911. S. 136. Pr. 3 M. 50 pf.

As might be expected, Völter undertakes to show that for the birth and youth of Jesus we have no genuine historical evidence (S. 131). He puts the narratives in Matthew and Luke on a par with the legends in the Talmud, (S. 1) and the flattery of Augustus or the inscription at Priene (S. 136). It is radical and ruthless criticism, utterly unsympathetic and quite out of perspective.

## IV. PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

**The Glory of the Ministry: Paul's Exultation in Preaching.** By A. T. Robertson, D. D. New York, Fleming H. Revell Company. 243 pages. $1.25 net.

We have in this delightful and helpful book a strong and captivating exposition of Paul's rhapsody on preaching in 2 Corinthians 2:12-6:10. The passage has ever made its tender and comforting appeal to the preacher of the Gospel. It was a favorite with my father, for he often read it at family prayers in the long ago, and its language has been familiar to me from my childhood. From one of its texts the beloved Dr. James C. Furman preached the sermon at my ordination in April, 1876. Thus to me the passage has very tender personal associations and has been often the subject of meditation and study. So much the more therefore does this verile and glowing exposition of my friend come home to my thought and feeling.

To those who have read Dr. Robertson's other books it is needless to say that the treatise is marked both by sound scholarship and a most engaging style. As in those other works, the scholarship is not obtruded but it is recognized by those who know, and felt by those who don't. To the crisp and brilliant manner of discourse there is in this book the added charm of a note of deeper feeling and a more manifest tenderness (as is quite natural) than is found in the author's other writings.

He gives us a heart-to-heart talk on the preacher's problems of today, as these are seen in the warm light of this outburst from the heart and brain of the mighty Apostle to the Gentiles. The book is tonic for discouragement and probe to the conscience all in one. And that is a combination not lightly to be disregarded in these days. Let every preacher get a copy and read it prayerfully.

E. C. Dargan.

**Educational Values.** By William Chandler Bagley, Professor of Education, University of Illinois, author of "The Educative Process," "Class-Room Management," etc. New York, The Macmillan Co. Price $1.10 net.

We have found almost unalloyed pleasure as well as great profit in reading this little book. It seems to us to be an extremely valuable contribution to the science of education. It is divided into parts. It first treats of the inherited "Controls of Conduct," simple reflexes and instincts; aid of the acquired "controls," habits, ideas and principles, ideals and emotional standards, prejudices and tastes, attitudes and perspectives; and closes with a discussion of the limits of educative forces in modifying conduct. The second part treats of the application of the principles set forth to the actual work of education, what values are to be realized in the several educative functions of training, instruction, inspiration, discipline, recreation, interpretation; and closes with a discussion of the school environment as a source of educative materials.

This outline serves only to give an idea of the author's logical grasp of his subject. It gives but little indication of the clear insight and discrimination which characterize the discussion in detail. As an example take the following brief sentences: "In general, ideals are the prime, the basic, the fundamental controls of conduct. Ideas are the subordinate, the interpolated controls. Ideals determine purpose; ideas guide to the realization of purpose. Ideals dominate large experiences or large adjustments. Ideas control the smaller segments of experience, the adjustments that are incidental as means to the desired or idealized

end." The chapter on the inspirational function is of especial value to preachers, and not a single chapter would fail to give them helpful suggestions. We hope many of them will read it.

C. S. GARDNER.

**The Education of the Central Nervous System.** By R. P. Halleck, M. A., (Yale). The Macmillian Co., New York, 1910.

The author of "Psychology and Physic Culture" has brought students of the mind under additional obligation by writing a very sane, strong and stimulating treatise on "The Education of the Central Nervous System," which has passed through several editions. Professor Halleck, as principal of the Louisville Male High School, and teacher of pychology, has had ample opportunities for accurate insight into the problems of physical and psychical functioning. While thoroughly modern in his views of genetic psychology he effectively and skillfully refutes necessitarian and fatalistic views of physiological psychologists. The possible modifications of the brain, the relations of attention, nutrition and fatigue to the brain as the central neural organ; the significance of environment for training; the age limit and efficiency; the best time for developing the brain and personality; the scope of sensory stimulations; the right use of mental images, and the importance of motor training in the formation of character are outlined and amplified. He gives an illuminating presentation of the sensory images, visual auditory, etc., employed by Shakespeare and Milton, and discusses the training of Shakespeare's senses. He closes by showing the relation between the central nervous system and enjoyement in all gradations from the lower physical to the larger spiritual experiences.

BYRON H. DEMENT.

**Successful Teaching.** Frank & Wagnalls Co., New York, 1909. Price $1.00.

This is a unique little volume of about two hundred pages, containing fifteen studies by as many practical teachers who were prize-winners in the National Educational Contest of 1905. A thoughtful introduction, correlating the following studies, is writ-

ten by Prof. James M. Greenwood, Superintendent of Schools in Kansas City, Mo.

The fact that nearly all the topics discussed are vital to Sunday School teachers reveals the underlying moral unity of the great army of teachers, whether they instruct in the schools of the Church or in the schools of the state. Character building is the ideal of all who rightly teach in any school. Of course in the Sunday School the Bible is central, not only in the inspiring spirit and atmosphere of instruction, but in the subject matter for exposition and application. The following themes make a strong appeal to religious teachers: Personality as a Factor in Teaching, The Value of Psychology in Teaching, How Best to Develop Character in Children, How Best to Gain and Keep Control of Pupils, How to Teach Children to Think, Advantages of Memory Work, How to Develop the Conversational Powers of Pupils, The Place of Biography in General Education, The Art of Story-Telling and its Uses in the Schoolroom. "Success in Teaching" will be suggestive and helpful to those who desire a glimpse into the working methods of a goodly group of efficient teachers.

BYRON H. DEMENT.

**The Great Teachers of Judiasm and Christianity.** By Charles Foster Kent. Eaton & Mains, New York, 1911. Price 75 cts.

Every religious teacher should be interested in the history of his calling. A study of the principles, aims, methods and achievements of those who have spoken for God in the different stages of the world's progress must prove informing and helpful to those who desire to make their teaching count for most in the establishment of the reign of truth in the earth.

"The Great Teachers of Judaism and Christianity" gives a glimpse into the work of the ancient prophets, priests and sages; the Scribes and Rabbi's, Jesus and the Early Christian Teachers.

The prophet spoke for God and was always a potent factor in Israel's history. Great prophets like Isaiah, exercised a combination of functions, and were at the same time "statesmen, social and moral reformers and theologians," their aims were to

counteract the evils of their day, to lead men to "act justly and love mercy," to make clear Jehovah's character and demands and to have God's will done on earth.

As to method of teaching they utilized history and familiar illustrations, or stories rich in suggestive power. The poetic form in which their thoughts were cast shows both deep emotion and careful preparation.

Their deliverances were characterized by invective, denunciation, argument, exhortation, monologues, dialogues, visions and rhapsodies.

Object lessons and dramatic illustrations are used with intense moral earnestness. The prophets were simple, direct and practical. "They were the great pioneers in the field of moral and religious truth whose teaching makes the Old Testament unique."

True to his critical views in the reconstruction of Israel's history, Dr. Kent introduces the priests as the successors to the prophets. The priests had a fourfold function: To guard the oracles of God, to judge in practical affairs, to teach the people and to offer sacrifices. By word and symbol they taught the masses the messages of the prophets, they appealed to the eye and the aesthetic sense by their ritual and to the intellect and will by their instructions. The oral decalogue, written law and stately ritual were by them indelibly written upon the popular mind. The author thinks that after the temple was destroyed the priests recorded the Jewish customs and ritual in written laws such as are found in the legal sections of Exodus, Numbers and Leviticus, the wise men or sages succeeded the priests and reached their zenith in the post-exilic period. Scant justice is done to Solomon, who is considered deficient in "the deeper qualities of wisdom," later sages far surpassed him and gave to the world the majority of the proverbs now found in the Old Testament.

Solomon was a "tyrannical, splendor-loving king who was chiefly famous for his disregard of the simple life and for the magnitude of his harem."

The wise sages were usually men of mature years who "laid emphasis upon instructing the individual, presenting the high ethical ideals of the pre-exilic prophets," they "were true lovers of men and winners of souls," their aims were to teach wisdom, form character and create a right attitude toward God. They employed the simile, riddles, paradox, parable, gnomic essay and philosophical drama in their earnest and persistent task of developing the whole man into a symmetric, God-honoring life. The Scribes were successors to the Sages. Their aim was to interpret and apply the truth and then train a nation into perfect obedience to all the details of the law, they were in the main good teachers but erred in laying too much emphasis on the letter and not enough on the spirit of the law, they employed a variety of methods in teaching, many of which are used today. But Jesus illustrated all that was best in his perdecessors as to aim, spirit and methods of teaching and arranged as His program for the conquest of the world that those who knew Him should go everywhere and teach all men the way of life. The book is well written and will repay close, discriminating study though its fundamental assumption and critical standpoint be rejected.

Byron H. DeMent.

**The School of the Church: Its Preeminent Place and Purpose.** By J. M. Frost, M. A., D. D., Secretary the Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. Fleming H. Revell Co.

Of the writing of Sunday School books there seems to be no end but rather an ever-increasing tide of publications. One becomes gladly reconciled to the situation when such a clear and vital message is issued from the press as Dr. Frost has given an interested Sunday School world under the significant title: "The School of the Church."

The author writes because the fire burns within, and the consciousness of a noble purpose urges onward. Books born in such an atmosphere are sure to have a wide reading.

The church has not recognized the dignity, the glory and im-

perativeness of its teaching function but is rapidly coming into the consciousness of the power of the Sunday School.

In about two hundred well written pages Dr. Frost discusses fourteen phases of the School of the Church in an equal number of chapters. Note the subjects considered, their importance and correlation: The Three-fold Church Relation, The Function of Church Training, A Method of Church Instruction, Its Purpose to Teach the Scriptures, The Holy Spirit in the Church as Teacher, A Scriptural Pedagogy for this School, The Teacher's Vision of God, The Pastor and his College of Teachers, The Teacher as God's Interpreter, To Interpret Christ the Lord, The Teacher with his Message of Grace, The Teacher and his Doctrines, The Sunday School and Other Schools, The Propaganda of New Testament Principles.

The author is conscious of the many forces in operation in the Sunday School along the various lines of organization, psychology, child nature, salvation by education, ethical culture, etc., and, therefore, presents in a sane and inspiring way many of the great spiritual and practical fundamentals so essential to the growth of the Sunday School as a mighty agency for the advancement of the Kingdom of God. The book will give pastors and teachers a new and thrilling conception of the eternal significance of their work as interpreters of the wonderful words of life.

BYRON H. DEMENT.

**The Pupil and the Teacher.** By Luther A. Weigle, Ph. D., Prof. of Philosophy, Carleton College. Geo. H. Doran Co., New York. 217 pages. Price 50 cts.

The Lutheran Publication Society is fortunate in being able to secure Prof. Weigle to write one of their Teacher Training Text-books for their Sunday Schools.

Eleven chapters are devoted to the consideration of the pupil, His Physical Activity, Three Stages of Childhood, Two Stages of Adolescence, Instinct, Habit, The Will, Morality and Religion, all prefaced by a chapter on The Teacher's Work and Training. Dr. Weigle shows a thorough acquaintance with

Genetic Psychology, and has a fine faculty for clear and forceful expression, which can not be said of all who have recently entered upon this fruitful field of practical enquiry.

Part II, The Teacher, consists of ten chapters dealing with Grades, Methods of Teaching, The Plan of the Lesson, The Pupil at Work, The Principles and Methods of Attention and Application, Questions, The Class as a Social Institution, The Spiritual Goal, The Ideal Teacher: Jesus.

At the close of each chapter are appended a number of pertinent questions. This volume contains far more than is usually found in a teacher training text-book, and qualitatively it is unsurpassed by any book of its kind that it has been my pleasure to read. Though written primarily for Lutherans it is admirable material for all who desire to become better teachers.

BYRON H. DEMENT.

**A Text Book of Psychology.** By Edward Bradford Tichener. The Macmillian Co., New York, 1910. Price $2.00 net.

This volume is one of the most important contributions made in recent years to this fascinating science. It was written, so the author tells us, to take the place of his "Outline of Psychology," and is written in the light of all the investigation that has taken place since the "Outline" was sterotyped.

Prof. Tichener has been called "the dean of experimental psychologists." He does not fail repeatedly to explain his doubt concerning almost every conclusion or statement which is not confirmed by experiment. In this he obviously goes to an extreme. The experimental method is of great importance; its contribution to psychological science is invaluable. But if man be wholly dependent upon it for a science of psychology, then the science—if a science it could be called—will always be so limited in its conclusions as to be of little value in the interpretation of the experience of life; for it is not practicable, except within narrow limits, to provide in the psychological laboratory a set of conditions which will parallel the situations of actual life, and it is unquestionable that the character of a reac-

tion is determined in large measure by the conditions—the situation—under which it is called forth.

Tichener's psychological method seems to be faulty in another respect. He is an "atomistic" psychologist, i. e., he looks upon the mind as a structure which is to be analyzed into its "elements." Now there may be, or there may not be, irreducible mental elements. But that method of psychological study can never, in our judgment, yield as valuable results as the out and out functional method.

But notwithstanding faults, this volume exhibits a profound and original insight into the processes and organization of the mind. We have found his discussion of sensation, memory and imagination especially suggestive and helpful. It is a book which no one who desires to keep abreast of the developments in this science can afford to neglect.

C. S. GARDNER.

**New Testament Evangelism.** By T. B. Kilpatrick, D. D., Knox College, Toronto, Canada.

Of the many excellent productions constantly issuing from the press, which show the keen interest in Evangelism, this book of Dr. Kilpatrick's is one of the very best.

The central idea of this work is the primacy of Evangelism in the ministry of the preacher, and in the work of the church. The author bases this upon a careful study and scholarly exposition of both the Old and New Testament; illustrates it from history; and applies it to the circumstances of the modern Christianity.

The book is divided into three parts: Evangelism in the New Testament; in History, and in the Modern Church. Perhaps the most valuable part of the book is part three; although it is all both interesting and instructive. Under this part, the scholarly author discusses the Power; the Spheres, and the Training for Evangelism.

All through this thoughtful and able production there are evidences of the quite up-to-date scholarship of the author. It is quite evident that the writer is speaking from his own experi-

ences; as well as from a warm love for the work of evangelism. The book is all the more valuable because it has grown so largely out of the experience of the writer, as well as of years of study and observation.

The author makes a distinction between "evangelism" and "revivalism," and ably discusses the relative value of each. The former he regards as the supremely important work of the minister and the layman; the latter may consist largely of adulterations and excitement, and its usefulness be commingled with many serious disadvantages.

The wide circulation and thoughtful perusal of this book cannot but result in a quickening interest in vital Christianity.

If this volume could have been put in the hands of the average pastor when he started out upon his life work as a minister of the Gospel, it would have been of incalculable value to himself and to the communities which he served.

P. T. Hale.

**In der Nachfolge Jesu.** Predigten nach dem Gang des Kirchenjahres. Von D. theol et phil. J. Rüling, Pfarrer an der Johanne's Kirche in Leipzig. Leipzig. A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1911.

This series of short sermons, following the course of the "Church year," is written in a simple, clear, beautiful style. They exhibit excellent literary taste. In the arrangement of the thought they adhere rigidly to the approved homiletical standards—introduction, statement of the theme, statement of the divisions in advance, discussion leading up to the conclusion. This makes a pleasant impression at first, but certainly to American taste, soon becomes monotonous and unpleasant. One longs for a breath of freedom and variety.

In subject matter the discourses are, for the most part, thoroughly evangelical both in doctrine and tone. But freshness is wanting. There is little suggestiveness. The author usually travels the accustomed and obvious route, and rarely seeks to penetrate to the broader suggestions and deeper meanings of the passages of Scripture used as texts.

C. S. Gardner.

**The Re-appearing (Il est Ressuscité!)** A Vision of Christ in Paris. By Charles Morice, Translated by John N. Raphael, with an Introduction by Coningsby Dawson. Hodder & Stoughton—George H. Doran Company, New York, 1911. 211 pages. $1.20 net.

Nothing more engageing, more searching, really more startling, has appeared recently than this book. On its literary side it commands admiration for its life, movement, force and elegance. But the main thing is its moral insight and earnestness from which there is no escape. Its satire upon current ideals, institutions and conduct is biting and burning and expresses a pessimism that leaves a sense of dejection bordering on despair of humanity and human society. The publishers claim that it has made a great sensation in Paris and all France. It is easy to accept this without too great discount, for if there is any moral earnestness left in France it must be aroused by such a picture of degeneracy as is here drawn under the brilliant whiteness of a vision of the Christ spending eleven days in Paris, culminating on Christmas day, 1910, with a formal request from the President of the Republic, conveyed by the Prefect of Police, that Christ will at once leave Paris and France.

All along one feels that essentially what the author portrays is what would occur under the distinct realization of the presence of the Christ. The effect is traced in newspapers, social salons, the Bourse and trade generally, marriage, and among the scientists and philosophers. Singularly enough, to the churches as such and the priests there is no distinct appearance but the explanation is clearly suggested. This work is not at all to be put in the class of "In His Steps," and similar productions, but moves in a realm at once deeper and more vital.

W. O. Carver.

**Real Religion.** By Howard Allen Bridgman. The Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1910. 75 cts. net.

The sub-title is suggestive of the specific nature and purpose of this little book, "Friendly Talks on Clean and Useful Living." It is a book addressed avowedly to the man and the woman in the thick of the moral struggle, under the stress of the exposure to the prevailing materialism and pessimism of the age, by one

who would have them regard him "as their fellow soldier and friend." It is distinctly inspirational, wisely practical and ought to prove helpful to any honest, struggling man or woman, especially to those who have heretofore failed to make their religion "real."

**Making the Best of Both Worlds.** By R. F. Horton, D. D. The Union Press, Philadelphia, 1910. 50 cts. net.

A report in the author's best vien of "a talk overheard between Mr. Worldly Wiseman and Mrs. Other-Worldliness," with some very significant expressions and reflections, full of keen wit, sound philosophy and breezy pleasantry, making, as a literary product, an exquisite tract, beautifully printed on fine paper and most daintily bound in white. It would be a beautiful birthday gift.

**My Religion in Every Day Life.** By Josiah Strong, D. D. The Baker & Taylor Co., N. Y., 1910. 50 cts. net.

The sane, vigorous and manly Christianity of the well-known author of "Our Couutry," "The New Era," etc., finds fit and felicitous expression in this admirable booklet. The experience and message it voices may confidently be counted on to arouse thought, deepen reflection and imspire a hopeful view of the future of religion in our great republic in this crowning century—this "age on ages telling."

**The Passion for Reality.** By Doremus Scudder, D. D. Revell Co., Boston and New York, 1910. 50 cts. net.

A vital and suggestive discussion of the growing and urgent demand for sincerity in every department and walk of life, evincing keen insight and broad culture, wide reading and varied experience. The questions considered, which are dealt with in the practical rather than the theoretical aspects, are "The Reality of Jesus," "Faith a Real Experience," "How to Make Prayers Real," "The Church a Real Factor in Life," and "Realizing Immortality." It is a book that will repay reading by the believing, no less than by the skeptical.

**Pastor's Hand-book With Communion Helps.** By O. E. Mallory, A. M., Worcester, Mass. American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1911. 75 ctc. net.

This new candidate for the favor and patronage of pastors is an admirable hand-book, containing all that is essential to such a work. The twenty-four lesson helps for Communion Services form a unique feature, designed "to help the pastor turn quickly to some fitting theme for leading the thoughts of God's people at the Lord's table." It contains the usual "Rules of Order," a full table of contents to facilitate quick reference, etc., is printed on good paper and bound in the Publication Society's best style.

**Some Outdoor Prayers.** By George A. Miller, New York City, T. Y. Crowell Company, 1911. Pages 30. Price 35 cts. net.

The object of this booklet is to give devotional reading in unconventional form for those who like what is not ecclesiastical. It ought to be helpful.

## V. CHURCH HISTORY.

**The Church Universal. Vol. IV. The Church and the Empire.** By D. J. Medley, M. A. New York, 1910. Macmillan. Pages 300.

This is the fourth in the series of small volumes on "The Universal Church", edited by Rev. W. H. Hutton, dealing with the period from 1003 A. D. to 1304 A. D., that is from the beginning of the great reform to the beginning of the Babylonian captivity. It was written by a layman and, probably for this reason, is not so pronouncedly "High Church" in sentiment as some of the other volumes. The purpose was to produce a handy volume for reading by intelligent laymen and others who might be interested in the subject. Its purpose was well carried out. Its pages are not overloaded with detail, thus reserving space for the great movements and important matters. These are treated in a pleasing style, with sufficient fulness to make them both clear and interesting. The period treated is the heart of the Middle Ages, the period in which most of the peculiarities which differentiate the Catholic

Church from other Christian bodies, were developed. It is, therefore, both interesting and important, and it is to be hoped that the volume will accomplish its purpose by obtaining a reading from many intelligent people who are not technical scholars. W. J. McGLOTHLIN.

**A History of Education During the Middle Ages and the Transition to Modern Times.** By F. P. Graves, Ph.D. New York. 1910. Macmillan Co. Pages 328. Price $1.10, net.

In many respects the roots of our modern world lie deep in the Middle Ages. It was the period in which the Teutonic nations of today were finding themselves, absorbing Christianity and the civilization that had preceded them, passing from barbarism to a civilized and cultured state. The history of education in such a period is naturally of absorbing interest and importance.

The author of the present volume begins his survey of the educational history of the period with a view of the monastic schools which were almost the only conservators of learning in the earlier part of the Middle Ages. This is followed by a discussion of the work of Charlemagne in Germany, Alfred the Great in England and the Moors in Spain, a notable effort for the spread of education from the governmental side of society.

Turning back to the people, he studies the educational effects of mysticism, scholasticism, feudalism and chivalry, each of which while not specifically an educational movement, nevertheless made a deep impression upon the character of the people and upon such education as then existed. This naturally eventuates in the work of the friars in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

An interesting chapter is given to the rise, character and work of the universities—their origin, organization, control, curricula, methods, students, professors, etc. Toward the end of the Middle Ages educational methods and ideals are profoundly influenced by the rise of cities, city and guild schools, and the other social phenomena that marked the end of the period.

The second part of the book is devoted to the transition

to modern times in the period of the Renaissance and Reformation. The educational upheaval was equally as striking as that in religion, and indeed preceded and prepared the way for the religious reform. This educational revolution, which consisted not only in the revival of the study of the classics, but also in marked changes of method and educational ideal, is clearly set forth as are also the further changes and developments occasioned by the Reformation itself. The great educational worker Luther, Melancthon, Sturm and other reformers, in Germany and other lands, generally overshadowed by the fame of their religious reforms, here receives due recognition and emphasis. The author then points out how their reforms, as did that of the Jesuits and other Catholic educational societies, gradually crystalized, became artificial and lifeless until they lost all their vitality and effectiveness for life. The work closes with an account of the beginnings of modern educational reform in Comnenius, Locke and other scholars in all lands. Each chapter is furnished with a brief but excellent bibliography of sources and authorities which greatly enhances the value of the book for the average reader. It is well done, and must be of great value to preachers and teachers alike.

W. J. McGlothlin.

**Die Handauflegung im Urchristentum nach Verwendung.** Herkunft und Bedentung in Religionsgeschichtlichem Zusammenhang Untersucht von Lic. Johannes Behm, Repetent der Theologie an der Univ. Erlangen. Leipzig, A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandling Nachf, 1911. Preis M. 4.50.

The imposition of hands has played an important part in the history of Christianity, especially with regard to the significance of baptism and the nature and office of the ministry, particularly the bishop. All works on the history of Christianity, and in particular those dealing with worship and the liturgy, have treated the subject as a matter of course. Monographs have appeared and still the subject is not exhausted. Another monograph of two hundred pages lies before us. It offers little that is new except in standpoint and treatment, and reaches no conclusion

which differs from that held by one or another of the investigators who have gone before.

The author treats the subject from the strictly historical standpoint under the three divisions of its use, its origin and its significance.

He finds that imposition of hands was practiced by Jesus in healing and in blessing (especially children). In the apostolic age the practice was continued in healing, and came to be used usually if not uniformly, on the newly baptised for the impartation of the Spirit, and was occasionally, if not always, used in inducting into office (ordination). The last two usages, the author admits are nowhere imposed by command in the New Testament and in fact, cannot be proven to have been the universal, or even the usual practice, of the Christians of the first century.

In the practice of the second and following centuries the ceremony played a part of ever increasing importance. Healing by the imposition of hands continued and in exorcism became a fixed feature of the catechumenate. Imposition of hands in blessing continued, while the act as a part of the ceremony employed in the ordination of bishops and presbyters, failing of all evidence of its existence in the second century, is the fixed practice of the third and following centuries. Imposition of hands after baptism for the gift of the Spirit, confirmation as it is now called, is also found to be general in the second and third centuries, and the practice of restoring penitent excommunicated persons, and the reception of heretics to the fellowship of the church without re-baptism by the imposition of hands, becomes general.

So much for the practice as used. With regard to its origin the author maintains that it has parallels in many other religions, and in some respects was almost certainly the continuation of already existing customs. This statement is true, especially as to imposition of hands in healing and blessing, which was widespread among many ancient peoples; the act in ordination was probably a continuation of Jewish custom in the induction

of men into the Sanhedrin or eldership, while the act in connection with baptism seems to be entirely new.

As to its significance the author finds that it was always regarded as a means of communicating something to the recipient, not merely a symbol of something communicated in a supersensible way. In the imposition of the hand in healing, the physical health and strength of the stronger was thought to be communicated to the weaker. In other cases it was thought that the Holy Spirit was actually imparted by the imposition of hands, i. e., after baptism, in ordination and in the restoration of excluded members to church fellowship.

This book is an excellent study of this interesting phenomenon in Christian history. Conclusions with regard to New Testament practice may not receive universal assent, but the author has rendered a valuable service in throwing light backwards upon New Testament practice.

W. J. McGlothlin.

**William Dell's Program** einer "lutherischen" Gemeinschaftsbewegung von Theodor Siffell, Pfarrer zu Schweinsberg. J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1911. pp. 120. Preis M. 2.80.

William Dell was one of the most interesting characters in the first half of the seventeenth century in England. Having graduated from Cambridge he became private secretary to Laud in 1631 and held that position for several years. At the outbreak of the Revolution he espoused the Parliamentary cause and became chaplain in the Parliamentary armies. At the close of the war he became Master of Caius College, Cambridge, a position which he held until the restoration in 1660. Here he exercised large influence on the religious and educational life of those troublous and chaotic times. In the meantime he had reached religious convictions which led him to classify himself with the Independents, but which seem to have been much nearer those of the Quakers, who were just beginning their spectacular career.

The author has given us, in this pamphlet, an illuminating introductory chapter upon the ferment of religious opinions pre-

vailing in England at that time. This is followed by a sketch of Dell and an extensive exposition of his religious and educational views. The points of agreement and of difference with the Congregationists are then set forth, and finally an estimate of Dell's debt to Luther, which the author makes large of course. Dell's works are not easily accessible, and therefore this brochure of a German pastor is welcome.

W. J. McGLOTHLIN.

## VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

**Lord Chatham, His Early Life and Connections.** By Lord Roseberry, Author of "Napoleon, the Last Phase." Harper & Bros., New York and London, 1910. Pages 481. Price $3.00.

Many consider this noble volume to be the greatest literary achievement of Lord Roseberry. It is just the early life of Pitt that is so little known. Lord Roseberry thinks that Pitt will continue an enigma, but certainly he is less so now than he was before this important contribution made by the present book. The genius, power and tragedy of Chatham have a fascination for all lovers of human greatness. Lord Roseberry has a distinction of style that shows at its best in this book. Chatham calls out the best in Lord Roseberry's nature. He shows his best side here and the work has met with a chorus of praise. No student of Pitt and his times can do without the fresh light thrown on that period by Lord Roseberry. All in all the book is a princely one.

W. J. McGLOTHLIN.

**Theological Encyclopedia and Methodology.** By Revere Franklin Weidner, D. D., LL. D., Vol. II. Chicago. Wartburg Publishing House, 1910. Pages 306. $1.50.

Dr. Weidner is a voluminous writer of books in all departments of theological study. In the present volume he discusses Historical, Systematic and Practical Theology. Dr. Weidner is a conservative Lutheran scholar who can be relied upon to guide his readers to books that minister to faith. Pastors and students

will find much to edify them in the second revised edition of his Theological Encyclopedia.

**Life and Letters of Alexander Macmillan.** By C. L. Graves. With portraits. New York and London. 1910. Macmillan and Company. Pages 418. $3.50 net.

This is, forsooth, a most charming book with its intimate and delightful gossip with many of the most brilliant men in English life since the fifties. Mr. Alexander Macmillan was a Scotch Baptist who came to Cambridge as a publisher and by grit and grace won a place for himself. Gradually he forged to the front and became the publisher of many of the great spirits of the time, Maurice, Kingsley, Hughes, Lightfoot, Westcott, Hort, John Morley, Seeley, etc. He left the Baptists under the influence of Arch-deacon Hare and was a devoted admirer of Maurice and followed his Broad Church views. The business prospered greatly and finally Mr. Macmillan moved to London and made the Cambridge house a branch office. He also became the official publisher for Oxford University. The letters of Mr. Macmillan form the larger part of the book and they are exceedingly interesting and reveal a man of great ability, wide sympathy, and immense resource. His house has now covered the whole earth and the name of Macmillan is known wherever good books are read. The volume is a worthy memorial of a really able and gifted man. English life is here seen at its best.

A. T. Robertson.

**Hungary in the Eighteenth Century.** By Henry Marczali. With an Introductory Essay on the Earlier History of Hungary, by H. W. V. Temperley, M.A. Cambridge. 1910. University Press. Pages 377.

The period dealt with chiefly in this handsome volume is the reign of Joseph II. and the years immediately preceding. In order to prepare the reader for a more intelligent perusal of these pages a sketch of the earlier history is given in the Introductory Essay of sixty-four pages. The history of Hungary in the eighteenth century is treated with some fulness. More-

over it is not simply the story of the wars, the political struggles and changes from which Hungary has greatly suffered, but rather the inner life of the people is set forth in comprehensive view and interesting detail. An introductory chapter sketches the history from 1711 to 1740, while the following chapters describe conditions about 1780. The titles of the following lengthy chapters sufficiently indicate their contents. They are "Economic Conditions," "The Social System," "Natoinality," "The Church," and "The Royal Power and the Government of the State." The author claims that these chapters were written from the sources, and the general tone gives confidence to the reader.

**Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention,** 1911. Philadelphia American Baptist Publishing Society. 50 cts. net.

This annual, in paper, makes a hefty volume of nearly seven hundred pages, including minutes of the Northern Baptist Convention for 1911, and complete reports of the various societies connected with the Convention as its agencies. The mission board reports are very detailed and complete.

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